THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 113, NO. 18 NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1945 NUMBER 1613

Internationalize Atomic Energy!

FOR TEN WEEKS we have lived in a new age. We agree with the scientists of atomic energy that this new age demands international organization.

Side by side with a program to create international organization through the United Nations, we need, of course, a program for the domestic development of atomic energy. Without a program for domestic control, we could not fulfill our responsibilities to the world.

The program provided for by the May-Johnson bill is not this kind of program.

The May-Johnson bill was drafted in haste by the War Department and has barely been examined by the White House and other government agencies. It was rushed to Congress, where hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee were initially closed after five hours. It was originally approved by a panel of scientists, many of whom are swiftly changing their minds. Military censorship has made it difficult for them to speak out.

The need for a domestic program is urgent. The world is waiting for us. The staff of scientists that produced the bomb has partially broken up. The power of military censorship is fast breaking up. The government lacks the peacetime powers to prevent the uncontrolled production of atomic energy that endangers all of us.

But the May-Johnson bill, as it now stands, is no safeguard against these dangers.

A domestic program is needed to aid world action. But the bill gives no genuine directive for world collaboration to the commission which it creates. Its preamble contains no reference to the United Nations, and only the most fleeting reference to peace.

A domestic program is needed to further atomic research in America. But clauses in the bill provide fines up to $300,000 and imprisonment up to thirty years for willful disclosure of restricted information, and fines of $100,000 and ten years' imprisonment for violations of regulations that might be made up by the commission. Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer has testified that this might prevent the teaching of nuclear atomic theory. He said: "It could stop science in its tracks."

The bill may provide, as it should, for the nationalization of all atomic production. It could provide for the transfer of atomic production and patents to private industry. The bill may provide, as it should, for the international exchange of scientific information. It could prohibit this interchange. In either case, there would be almost no recourse from its decision.

The nine-man commission, not the President, or Congress, appoints the Administrator under the bill. Our future rests with the commission. But the bill provides no qualifications for the nine commissioners. Although they are given greater power than Congress has ever delegated to such a body, they are to be dollar-a-year men who need meet no more than four times a year.

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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The May-Johnson bill is a War Department bill. Under its provisions the commission could be dominated entirely by the Army. The provision of the bill which states that the Administrator must keep the Assistant Administrator informed is believed to mean that the Army, as administrator, must keep the Navy, as assistant administrator, informed. This bill, in a new form, is the old M-Day plan by which the Army attempted, through the figurehead of "a prominent industrialist," to take over all phases of our war production. The Army was incompetent to direct our war production. It should not control our development of atomic energy. This control is a political, not a military, function.

We need an atomic-energy bill. This is an atomic-bomb bill. As it stands now, with no world program behind it, it may well sound the shot that will start an atomic armament race, ending inevitably in war.

In the name of illusory sovereignty we threatened our security when we undertook to keep secret knowledge which was no secret. In the name of illusory security—for there is no national security against the atomic bomb—we are now threatening our freedom. The guilt is not ours alone. It falls on every nation which, in the name of the right to freedom of action, is threatening the right to life itself.

We ask that the hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee be kept open until a positive alternative to the May-Johnson bill can be brought forward, and our domestic program placed within the framework of the United Nations.

Yet should America come before the United Nations with the bomb in one hand and our plan for its international control in the other, this would in effect be a declaration of war. We ask the President to call first upon the Security Council, and later on all of the United Nations to present their proposals for the creation of an inspection force, and a United Nations armed force; and for the transference of real authority to the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the United Nations; for without this transference, power resting in an armed force would be irresponsible power.

One world or none—by this standard alone can we consider legislation which may help to unite our world or keep us divided, and so destroy us.

Sian MacGovern in the New York Post

Nowhere to Lay Their Heads

THE UGLIEST of all the ugly stories now coming out of "liberated" Europe is that of the continued plight of European Jewry. Of Europe's estimated pre-war Jewish population of six million, only one and a half to two million survive. But the Jews—Hitler's first and most numerous victims—are still Europe's greatest sufferers. When the war ended most of them were among the displaced peoples of Europe. Those who tried to return to their native lands found their homes gone, their businesses nonexistent or taken over by others, and anti-Semitism rampant. Earl Harrison's report on the Jews in Germany, which moved President Truman to tell General Eisenhower that "we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them," made our own responsibility unmistakable. Our major allies, the Russians and the British, are equally accountable. From Russian-controlled Poland come reports of a new wave of anti-Semitic terror and pogroms. Throughout Europe thousands of Jews have committed suicide since liberation—seven thousand in Czechoslovakia alone. And in Palestine, the only country where for all practical purposes the Jews can find a haven, the British are arresting hundreds of "illegal" immigrants who, in the words of Victor Gollancz, have "nowhere to lay their heads."

Whether or not Palestine and the creation of a Jewish state, as demanded by the Zionist movement, is *the* solution of the so-called Jewish "question," Palestine today offers Europe's Jewry its only chance to survive "liberation." The Jews cannot afford to wait for the reëstablishment of their civil rights in the various European countries, desirable as this is from a liberal point of view. For they are haunted by the ghosts of spiritual and physical starvation or death. Their moral, legal and political claims to be permitted to go to Palestine may be debatable. But their practical need cannot be a matter for protracted discussion. Today's issue is not the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, or the Wilson recommendation of January 21, 1919, or the League of Nations Palestine Mandate of 1922 and all the other resolutions, conventions and promises of yesterday. Today's issue is *not* the Jewish colonization record in Palestine, the British White Paper of 1939, President Roosevelt's commit-

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ments to Ibn Saud, Arab "threats" of resistance, or considerations of power politics. Today's issue *is* to keep alive the more than two million Jewish victims who have survived the Nazi holocaust. A new beginning has to be made.

On August 30, 1943, the *New Republic*, in a special issue on "The Jews of Europe—How to Help Them," concluded that while "final decisions on the broader questions of Palestine policy must await the end of the war in Europe, in the meantime certain decisions are urgent. The threatened ban on immigration must be lifted. The doors of Palestine must be opened wide. The Jewish Agency must no longer be denied the right of bringing into the country every man, woman and child who can still be rescued from the Hitlerite fury. A place is waiting for all who can be rescued . . . and their kinfolk will accord them a joyous hospitality. This is not the least of the grave and historic responsibilities of the Prime Minister and the President. The blood of the innocents will weigh heavy in the scales of history. And time presses."

That was more than two years ago, and nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done. The war is over, the Nazi monster is no more, the President is dead and the Prime Minister of yesterday is warming the benches of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. But the doors of Palestine are still closed, Europe's Jews still suffer and time is shorter than ever. The only real change is that the fate of the dispossessed, displaced and dispirited Jews of Europe is no longer the exclusive responsibility of a Hitler, a Roosevelt, a Churchill or a Weizmann, but of mankind as a whole. The British may hold the key, or we may hold it, or the Arabs. But only mankind can turn it. What is needed today are not pious declarations by statesmen, dreams of an independent Zion, learned dissertations on the old and familiar moral, legal and statistical arguments and counter-arguments. What is needed are the trains, ships, clothes, food and money necessary to make an end to human misery.

The editors of the *New Republic* are not and cannot be Zionists. They believe that the Zionists ill serve the cause of human decency when they raise the issue of Jewish nationalism and a Jewish state in Palestine. Nor are they impressed by Arab nationalism. This does not mean that they are blind to these forces. They understand the dilemma of a British Labor government which has inherited the unenviable task of presiding over an empire. They deplore the failure of this country—and of all other countries—to open their doors to the Jews of Europe. They are most critical of the behavior of the British authorities in Palestine whose policy of hunting down the unfortunate "illegal" immigrants they consider inhuman. But they believe that all of these matters are secondary to the immediate and practical job of bringing the Jews of Europe—those who want to go—to the only place where they are really welcome, Palestine.

Modernizing the Government

ONE OF THE MANY REASONS why President Truman's reconversion program is failing is the decrepit state of our governmental machinery. Congress is operating under a system which remains practically unchanged from 1893. Roosevelt had but recently been given power to reorganize the executive branch when the war made orderly changes impossible. Today both branches are unwieldy instruments at best and badly in need of modernization, but Congress is preparing to recess shortly without doing anything to improve either.

Last May President Truman saw what a big job it would be to reconvert the executive branch of the government to peacetime operations and asked Congress for legislation empowering him to take the necessary steps in reorganization. "The legislation," his message went, "should be sufficiently broad and flexible to permit of any form of organizational adjustment, large or small, for which necessity may arise." So bill S. 1120 was introduced, giving the President broad powers to reorganize and merge existing agencies and to create new ones, subject to rejection by majority vote of both Houses within a 60-day period.

Practically everyone seemed agreed on the need for reorganization. Every President since the turn of the century has gone on record for such changes. The New Deal had put through five definite parts of a large reorganization plan in 1939 and 1940, but clearly a big job still remained to be done. Government officials have recently pointed out, for example, that 75 different bureaus, divisions and agencies deal with transportation matters; 28 deal with welfare questions; 14 with forestry. There was no doubt of the duplication and overlapping. The disagreement was over how the job was to be done.

Senator, now Secretary, James Byrnes put his finger on the main difficulty in discussing the reorganization bill of 1939. "I have yet to talk with reference to reorganization to one man in the government service who did not make this answer: 'Of course, it should be done. I know it should be done, but'—and then, when he joins the great old order of 'butters,' you will find that he says, 'but do not touch my department.' " Byrnes did not add that the same attitude was even stronger among lobbyists who have established "contacts" in the downtown agencies which they do not wish to have displaced. And among Congressmen whose patronage lines are firmly laid in the present departmental structure. And among minority-party members who oppose any consolidation that might lessen the powers of their partisan representatives.

These and other forces succeeded in tying a number of strings to the President's requested bill before it passed the House. A half-dozen of the many agencies

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the Republicans sought to have excluded from the bill were exempted and a strong effort was made to permit rejection of any reorganization plan by a simple majority of one House, but without success.

The Senate finished the hamstringing job. The House bill was rewritten to exempt 13 agencies from any changes whatsoever. And the Republican plan to kill reorganization by veto of either House was sponsored by Democratic Senator Burton Wheeler and approved by the full Judiciary Committee. In effect, this Senate bill would give the President less power than he had under already existing legislation.

But Congress itself is even more urgently in need of reorganization than the executive branch. Mr. Truman is perhaps more aware of that than anyone else in the country. He remembers his frustrations as a Senator, and he knows that it is mainly the combination of seniority, rules procedure and the committee system that has licked his leadership since he has been President.

The poll-tax system has put reactionary Southerners in Congress and the seniority system has ensured them top spots on the key committees. Outworn devices like the filibuster, committee packing, legislative riders, plus manipulation of the all-powerful Rules Committee have proved highly effective.

Months before Truman took office, Congress finally established a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress to plan the long needed house-cleaning. But with customary caution, it barred the committee from looking into rules or parliamentary procedures. That meant that abuses arising from filibusters, Rules Committee practices or the attaching of trick riders to routine bills were to be above investigation or recommendation. Now, after months of hearings under these limitations, the Joint Committee is preparing to make its report to the whole Congress. In all likelihood, it will include most of these proposals:

Consolidation of committees, in the Senate from 33 to 12 or 13, in the House from 48 to 14 or 15, with adequate qualified staffs.

Abolition of the seniority rule for selecting committee chairmen. Seniority is not a compulsory rule. Six-year rotating chairmanships would be a good way to award ability and provide opportunity for younger members.

Higher salaries, expense allowances and assistance for the individual congressman. Retirement plans and salary raises to $15,000-25,000 are being urged by many political-science experts. More and better staff assistance in congressional offices, committees and in the Library of Congress is obviously necessary, plus provision of an allowance for a home district office to ensure closer contact with constituents.

Closer contact between Congress and the executive agencies. Mr. Byrnes has suggested a "congressional cabinet," formed from the congressional policy committees of the two parties, to meet regularly with the President on legislative plans. Most executive agencies also feel the need for more liaison men to maintain contact between them and the Hill.

Under a modernized committee system, Mr. Truman's reconversion program might have met a better fate. Filibuster and rules procedure today block consideration of poll-tax repeal and the FEPC. The seniority of committee chairmen Doughton, Manasco and George freezes full-employment and unemployment-compensation legislation. The whole system produces the ludicrous case of Senator Clyde Reed (Rep., Kan.), who finds himself chairman and only member of a standing Committee on Enrolled Bills which has not met in seven years, and who, when asked what his committee is supposed to do, responded, "Doggone if I know."

If these basic reforms should be put into effect, many a public servant would be deprived of a big slice of his annual pie. To carry out Senator La Follette's committee-consolidation proposal, for example, would mean merging nine committee chairmanships into one major Senate Committee on Interior, Natural Resources and Public Works. The eight good Democrats who would thus lose their jobs as committee bosses would have to be at least minor statesmen to rejoice in their own demotion. It is highly dubious that any such feeling exists in Congress today. And the odds are against passage of any congressional reorganization bill that will strike at the roots of the trouble unless strong public pressure is brought to bear.

Revolution in Indonesia

THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT against colonial oppression which has been smoldering in French Indo-China, British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies has now flared into an armed struggle for independence in the latter. As Bernard Meyer suggests in his article on page 565, trouble between the Dutch, anxious to retain their wealthy empire, and the Indonesian nationalists, equally anxious to get rid of their foreign masters, has long been brewing and needed only the proper occasion to explode.

This occasion came with the Japanese surrender. The political vacuum created by the collapse of Japan and Dutch unpreparedness for taking over governmental and military control quickly was filled by the Indonesian nationalists. The Dutch charge that the nationalist movement is stimulated by Japanese propaganda. There is an element of truth in this charge, but it is only one element and certainly not the whole truth. The Japanese slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," undoubtedly appealed to the subject peoples of Southeast Asia, but only because of the existence of conditions that permitted Japanese propaganda to be effective. The na-

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tive independence movements antedated the Japanese conquest and have an authentic basis among the people themselves. During the Japanese occupation the peoples of Southeast Asia soon learned that their new masters were as bad, if not worse, than their old ones. If, as the Dutch allege, Dr. Achmed Soekarno and other Indonesian nationalist leaders collaborated with the Japanese, they were probably motivated less by love of Japan than by dislike of the Dutch. It is more than doubtful that the Dutch authorities refuse to negotiate with Soekarno because he allegedly collaborated with the Japanese. The charge of collaboration, if true, deserves little respect when it comes from imperialists who, like the Dutch, are willing to employ Japanese troops to quell the native revolution.

Soekarno's influence and the strength of the Indonesian resistance movement are not known. But to judge from the wide extent of the Indonesian revolt and the large-scale Dutch-British-Japanese countermeasures, the uprising seems to be popular enough to justify its being taken seriously. It is true, of course, that the Dutch colonies have made greater economic progress under the rule of the Netherlands than either the British or French possessions in Southeast Asia. But, as Mr. Meyer points out, the exploitation of native labor and the islands' rich resources for private profit does not essentially differ from the familiar pattern of Western imperialism elsewhere. The natives as well as the Dutch know this. It explains, probably more than anything else, the bitterness with which both sides attack each other. Quite certainly this situation would never have developed if the Dutch had in the past followed a policy more akin to our own in the Philippines than to British or French policies.

The mistakes of the past are not easily forgotten or easily remedied. Even if the Dutch government's offer of some sort of dominion status to the Indonesians is sincere, the islanders have good reason to distrust its promises. Although some measure of self-government had been granted before the war, and although Queen Wilhelmina had offered the colonies greater autonomy, few steps have been taken to effectuate a change in the government of Indonesia such as a "war of liberation" warrants.

Furthermore, the Indonesians know that the Dutch alone are too weak to force their rule on an unwilling empire. Even if their revolution is unsuccessful, they will know that without the aid of British and Japanese troops the Dutch would have been defeated. Prime Minister Attlee told the House of Commons, in justifying the British intervention, that Great Britain is "under a strong moral obligation" to aid her Dutch allies "to resume control" and maintain "law and order." It is difficult to see what "moral obligation" a British Labor government—theoretically opposed to colonial oppression—is under to maintain the Dutch empire by force.

The most unfortunate aspect of the Indonesian revolution for independence is that it must apparently proceed under the flag of nationalism. The liberation of the Dutch empire and, as a matter of fact, of all colonial peoples, should be something more than a jingoistic rallying cry for war if the Western democracies are not to lay up for themselves undying hatred in the colonial world. If colonial status can be—and it must be—exchanged for orderly participation in the family of nations with the consent of the peoples concerned, through membership in several commonwealths, men of good will should have no objection. The Dutch, the British and the French all rejected at San Francisco any idea of international trusteeship over their colonies. Yet Americans, without whose help they could not have won the war, may be permitted to express a strong desire that hostilities be succeeded by negotiations and political adjustment at the earliest possible moment. But whatever course is accepted, an attempt to rule by force of arms, as the Dutch fiasco shows, can result only in an intensified demand for freedom.

Democratic Victory in France

The French national elections not only forecast a stronger democratic government in France than before the war, but give a boost to economic union with Britain and Western Europe on a basis of democratic socialism. The parties supporting General de Gaulle have a majority; the largest gainers were the Socialists and the Catholic but socialistically inclined Popular Republican Movement. The Communists also gained, but remain distinctly in a minority. The Radical Socialists (a prewar party which is really capitalist liberal) lost heavily, and the parties of the Right have virtually disappeared.

The expectation of a stronger national government rests on several grounds. The number of parties has been greatly reduced, and those which survive are larger, so that the old parliamentary game of making and dissolving unstable coalitions will be discouraged. Even though no single party has a majority, the Socialists and Catholic Democrats are sufficiently close together in principle so they should have little difficulty in backing the same administration. The old Constitution itself will be revised by the Constituent Assembly just elected; on this point the popular referendum returned a heavy majority. The program of the victorious parties is to strengthen the executive by providing for the dissolution of Parliament and a general election if the cabinet should be defeated from one to three times in the Chamber. There is likely to be unicameral legislature, perhaps with a second house made up of economic interests for consultative and advisory purposes only. The Constituent Assembly will, contrary to the will of the Communists, exercise during its life (limited to seven months) the right to control or oust the Provisional Government.

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Apparently the international situation strengthened the other parties of the Left against the Communists. Communist weakness with the electorate was that they opposed the project of Western European union, as did the Soviet government, that they backed the rule of the Big Three against a broader international control, and that they opposed de Gaulle's plans for the treatment of Germany.

China Moves Toward Peace

The conversations between President Chiang of China and the Communist leader General Mao, though not completed, have led to certain broad agreements which seem to assure that there will be no civil war, at least in the near future. The Communists have conceded that their armies shall come under a unified national command and shall be withdrawn from certain provinces south of the Yangtze, being concentrated in the liberated areas north of the Lunghai railway and in northern Kiangsu and northern Anhwei. This withdrawal has now begun. Chiang has agreed to recognition of equal legal status of the Kuomintang and the Communists, as well as other political parties, and it is stipulated that the nation shall proceed to install constitutional democratic government. Civil liberties will be guaranteed; arrests, trials and punishment are to be conducted solely by law courts and police. Local self-government is to be promoted.

This agreement puts an effective end to several grave doubts. Russia did not "sell out" the Chinese Communists in exchange for concessions received from China before the USSR declared war on Japan. The Chinese Communists are willing to participate in a democratic, constitutional government rather than fighting for dictatorial power; indeed, they insist that the present government of China be reorganized to this end. And, though much depends on details still to be worked out, Chiang himself appears to be willing to abandon the dictatorship of the Kuomintang and to proceed along the democratic principles of the Republic of China first outlined by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Franco Talks

On June 20 new powerful shortwave transmitters of Radio Nacional de Madrid went into operation with a speech by Franco promising "more propaganda on the Spanish reality." This "reality" presents Spain as the only peaceful and lawful country in war-torn and starving Europe. Hearst correspondent von Wiegand's "favorable reports on Spain's internal situation and her foreign policy" are apparently another picture of this reality, and accordingly get an accolade from Radio Nacional denied even to the *Reader's Digest*, which was charged with "spreading lies" about Spain. The broadcasts are concerned with maintaining the dictatorship against foreign pressure, and Bevin's foreign-policy speech was taken as a sign that the Spanish people "could continue their freedom under the progressive regime which saved them from chaos." With this assurance, Madrid is now working for a split between Russia and the Western powers. The Churchill-Franco correspondence is quoted to prove the need for the Christian world to unite against the Bolshevik menace. "Even General de Gaulle now advocates a Western bloc," says Madrid. And in a broadcast to the Western Hemisphere, Radio Nacional warned the State Department of "the bad influence its interference in the private affairs of Spain must have on the prestige of the U.S.A. in Spanish America while it silently tolerates the complete destruction of freedom in Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and the Balkans."

Protect Our Oil Reserves!

Air power was decisive in this war. Ninety-five percent of the Allies' aviation gasoline was supplied by the United States. Our known oil reserves are 20 billion barrels. We are consuming one and a half billion barrels a year. These facts make conservation of our oil reserves vital to the United States. One of our finest opportunities for conservation lies in our tidelands—our greatest unexplored source of petroleum.

By the terms of HR 344, the United States renounces any title or claim "to all lands beneath tidewaters and navigable waters within the boundaries of each of the respective states." This resolution, already adopted by the House of Representatives, is government of, by and for the oil companies. The oil companies paid a part of the fee of one of its chief authors, Special Assistant William W. Clary of California. The resolution was passed on by the oil companies before it was submitted to Congress. They are now attempting to drive it through the Senate.

President Truman, on the advice of Secretary Ickes, is struggling to assert the exclusive right of the United States to tidelands oil. He may be opposed by elements within his own administration, notably Edwin W. Pauley. He needs all the help he can get.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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General Marshall does not want America's security carried in a paper bag. If his own dark view of future world peace *is* the only correct one, then his philosophy of military might becomes the only acceptable philosophy, though it remains a comfortless one. But if there is more hope than the General believes, then a paper bag will do, provided it be the kind of paper upon which fifty nations last June set down the United Nations Charter.

Either this is one world or it is not. If not, then let us build our armies and stake out our inviolable zones of military security. But while doing so, let us stake out our burial-plots too. For in such a world, we shall assuredly have early need of them. DENIS PLIMMER

The Foreman Goes Union

THE ONE-TIME DARLING of American management—the foreman—has begun to bite the hand that has been fooling him for more than 25 years. Big business long used the foreman in its fight against the union efforts of rank-and-file workers. Now the foreman is coming to recognize the value of organized demand for himself—and industrial management is finding it hard to believe that its former favorite has decided to don a union button of his own.

Adding fuel to management's vexation, the National Labor Relations Board has granted foremen the legal right to join a union in the recent Packard Motor Company case. The automobile industry, via General Motors—staff of life to the National Association of Manufacturers—quickly took up arms against the ruling in a series of full-page advertisements in newspapers and magazines from coast to coast.

The ads headlined the misleading question, "Should management be unionized?" The appeal has only served to befuddle the issue for the public. Actually, management is not being unionized, because foremen today are not "management" in the sense of two decades ago. Then, a foreman was a boss with full power to hire, fire, promote, demote and discipline his workers. Today, he only recommends these things to the personnel department—often futilely.

Further proof that the foreman is not "management" can be shown by the change that has taken in place among foremen, as a class. For many years fter World War I, foremen were potent and fre- his m tly willing union-busters. This anti-union attitude we de med partly from the fact that supervisors were are at r treated than those under them. But industry Thod to hold the foreman's loyalty because it pro- Second ely neglected his working conditions, overbur- the defe him and, worse still, turned a deaf ear to his pitiful ai nts. Basically, though, it was a combination of have survi n and jealousy that kept foremen in the and which ment" column. But it was not long before arms, an began to look with frank envy at such union military n ts as overtime pay, seniority rights, vaca- fashioned, a kness and accident benefits, equal pay for numbering nd—most important—grievance procedure. [illegible] dually became their own ideals for job conditions, and this was evidenced by a minor flow of foremen back to the rank-and-file jobs where security and standards were better—a sign unwisely ignored by industry. Thus, while company presidents made yearly banquet speeches to the "boys," foremen came to see themselves as the fall guys in the "management" set-up.

Finally, the hasty swing into defense and war production that began in 1940 found industry less inclined than ever to deal with the foreman's personal problems of wages, status and grievances. Indeed, until very recently, he was the forgotten darling of American business. Now he is no longer forgotten—a number of foremen's-union work stoppages since 1943 have seen to that.

Why did they strike? Basically they wanted the right to join a union and bargain collectively with their employers on the conditions under which they work. They have won that right, *legally*. But American management on the whole is opposed in principle to bargaining with foremen's unions. It insists that foremen are a part of management and therefore have no right to join a union. It rests its argument on its own interpretation of the word "employee." Only *employees* are protected by the Wagner Act, and as industry views it, foremen are not employees.

This view is precisely the one which the NLRB has just declared invalid, since the nature of the foreman's status in modern industry can no longer be considered other than that of an employee. The Board found that the foreman no longer has any genuine management powers or prerogatives.

To the foremen, the entire question of employee status is evasive and unrealistic. They readily concede that they represent management in the shop. But on the other hand, they consider themselves workers—hired, instructed and promoted or dismissed just as are all other employees. Moreover, the long history of foremen in the trade-union movement supports their "employee" status.

Foremen's unions are not new, although the vigor with which the current membership drives are being conducted is unparalleled. The immediate goal is to organize the three million foremen in the mass-production industries. At present there are 11 foremen's and supervisory unions which were organized before 1935. These were, in the main, instituted on a craft

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basis in the golden era for foremen between 1900 and the early thirties.

Since 1935 only a few foremen's unions have developed, of which one is the independent Wright Aircraft Supervision Association. Three others are affiliated locals: one each with the CIO, the AFL and the United Mine Workers. The fifth and largest is the independent Foremen's Association of America.

The seeds of the FAA were sown in August, 1941, by a 30-year-old foreman, Robert Howard Keys, at Ford's Detroit plant. By the end of the year, several thousand Ford plant supervisors had joined. The first test of FAA strength came in mid-1942. A foreman presented a grievance on behalf of another supervisor and was discharged. Two hundred foremen made a vigorous protest and Ford, highhanded as usual, discharged the entire protesting group.

But when Keys threatened to pull out the total membership, Ford recognized the power of the FAA and took back the 200 locked-out supervisors. Ironically enough, Ford—the very last in the auto industry to sign an agreement with the rank-and-file workers—became the first to accept a contract with this new union. Indeed, Ford signed an ultra-liberal agreement with the FAA on pain of a 24-hour total-strike notice.

From then on, the growth of the Association under Keys's stewardship has been little less than amazing. By the end of 1944, the foremen of some 175 other manufacturing establishments had joined the ranks and the FAA now boasts 35,000 dues-paying members. But management fought hard and used its full bag of economic and legal tricks. Its rampant anti-foremen activity finally led to a rash of strikes in Detroit last year. These ended quickly, however, when the War Labor Board formally undertook an investigation.

This sideshow battle between the management and foremen of 13 of America's largest manufacturers—in the auto industry—was conducted before a special WLB panel headed by Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard. The findings have dragged out some dirty linen that does no credit to the intelligence of American management. The chief grievances of the foremen as related by the FAA at the hearings were:

1. *They want their base pay to be in proportion to their responsibilities.* Management really didn't try to get cost-of-living increases for foremen. It strung them along with, "You know Washington. . . ."

2. *They want adequate pay differentials.* A foreman should get anywhere from 15 to 25 percent more than the workers under him. There are actually situations where foremen make less hourly than do the workers.

3. *They want regular overtime rates of pay.* Foremen generally don't get overtime pay until after 48 hours of work. Many of them get no overtime or holiday pay at all. Because of this many foremen earn less money than the workers under their supervision.

4. *They want standard seniority provisions.* In many plants, foremen lose their seniority each time they are transferred from one department to another. Also, many foremen have lost their seniority standings during illness. But the main point is that promotions, demotions, hirings and layoffs should be made with length of service as a principal factor.

5. *They want accident and sickness protection.* Before the war, foremen often returned from a siege of illness only to be handed a week's wages and a pink slip. In many cases they have not received sick-leave pay.

6. *They want to get management backing.* Realizing that foremen have few real management powers, many workers and some over-zealous union stewards have reduced them to the status of department lackeys. This is one of the most resented situations.

7. *They want postwar security.* Foremen realize that the war's end means that many of them will return to worker's status. They want to carry their seniority with them and to receive special bonus rates for a period of six months after the transfer. Also, they want to be guaranteed their prewar jobs if foremanships are not available.

8. *They want the right to a hearing before discharge.* Too often an arbitrary plant superintendent will summarily fire a foreman who has in some way displeased him, or who is known to be pro-union.

9. *They want equal pay for the same job classification.* That is, when two men do the same type of supervision, one should not get more money than the other simply because he is in a different department. This discrepancy has been used by management as a punishment against union-minded foremen. Also, they want equal pay for women foremen.

10. *They want practical grievance machinery.* Rare is the firm which has the same set-up for its foremen that it has for its rank-and-file workers for the settlement of grievances. Each foreman should have the right to present his case, or to have his union representative speak for him on any matter—without fear of dismissal or punishment.

On the basis of the Slichter panel findings and its own observations, the NLRB theoretically ended the foremen's-union controversy by granting complete Wagner Act coverage to all foremen when it ruled on the Packard case on March 26. In a last-ditch delaying effort, the automobile industry has decided to take the matter to the Supreme Court.

Thus from a practical, long-range standpoint, the foremen are now in exactly the same position as that of all labor before the Wagner Act was passed. Business would do well to remember that the rank and file, too, once had no law to guarantee its collective-bargaining rights and that it was industry's bitter-end opposition to unionism that led to the sharp class conflicts now existing between capital and labor. To force

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foremen into the position of having to fight for a "Wagner Act" of their own, can only serve to weaken further the special tie that joins them to management.

Wisely recognizing this, the House of Representatives has already turned down one proposal to exclude foremen from coverage under the Wagner Act. And it is generally expected that the Supreme Court will uphold the NLRB's decision when the matter comes before it.

Another bright light in the foremen's future is the position of Paul Herzog, new chairman of the NLRB. In his previous record with the New York State Labor Relations Board, this young Truman appointee has already shown his sympathetic understanding of the supervisory-union question. Chairman Herzog, therefore, is expected to lend added weight to the NLRB sanction of foreman organization.

Our three million foremen are the chief possessors of the great American genius that makes our mass production possible. Without their practical "know-how," the prospects for a postwar horn-of-plenty economy—for 60 million jobs—are very bleak indeed. Yet management continues to invite a nationwide foremen's strike in the face of the reconversion task now at hand.

Industry must gear itself to the changed labor and economic realities if it is to absorb the coming shock of the foreman's full participation in postwar collective bargaining.

STANLEY C. GARTENHAUS

Why Indonesia Revolts

The following article was written two months ago. The charges made by the author are now substantiated by the present wave of unrest and repression in the Dutch East Indies, which is discussed in the editorial section of this issue. – THE EDITORS

DURING the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, the Dutch information services in Australia took pains to describe the plight of the Indonesians under the heel of the enemy and stressed their longing for liberation by their former rulers.

The hardships of the Indonesians under the Japanese were undoubtedly severe. This, however, is not to say that the Indonesians are welcoming their liberators with wild enthusiasm. Many of them are completely indifferent to the change of administration. To the native population, conquest and reconquest merely mean a change of landlords, both of whom ask the same old rent.

The Japanese, though practising worse brutality, have been more successful with appeals to the Indonesians on independence and "Asia for the Asiatics." Although such propaganda may sound absurd to Western ears, the ordinary man and woman throughout colonial Asia is much more interested in current bread-and-butter problems than in such (for them) unknown factors as "democracy" on the one hand and "Dai Nippon" on the other. The more politically minded have been fed by the Japanese on cheap patriotism and constant talk of independence and self-government, whereas the Dutch did not even bother to make promises of independence, not to speak of effectuating them. According to official Dutch information sources, wages paid by the Japanese were 50 percent lower than under Dutch rule. However, such a figure is far too general, and refers to payment in Japanese occupation money, the value of which was lower than the Dutch guilder. In Borneo, for example, the Japanese paid native workers 25 guilders a week, nominally 1,000 percent higher than Dutch wages, though the "invasion guilder" was worth little and goods were scarce.

As for the fact of the enemy's gaining control of the Indies, the Indonesians remember that their former landlords prevented military training, the possession of arms, or preparations for their own defense for fear of "arming the natives against the whites."

Before the Japanese took over, poverty among the natives was widespread. Wages for those Indonesians who worked for Dutch monopolists ranged from 50 cents to $1.15 a week at 10 hours' work daily. The average income of the inhabitants of the colony was two cents a day. This must be considered in the light of $100 million profits which Dutch firms derived from their lucrative possessions. Ninety-five percent of the population received 12 percent of the annual income of the islands, while Europeans—5 percent—took 65 percent of the wealth.

Freedom of speech, including talk of independence, self-government, wage increases and improved living conditions, was suppressed by both landlords. In 1926, when dissatisfaction with exploitation without compensation came to a head and demands for improvement were openly voiced in popular demonstrations, 26 Indonesians were executed, 4,500 thrown into prison and 1,360 sent to one of the world's most terror-ridden concentration camps, Tanah Merah, in a swamp-infested jungle area of Dutch New Guinea. Many died of jungle diseases or unknown causes. Strange as it may sound to Allied readers, it was the arrival of the Japanese enemy in 1942 which spelt liberation, after 16 years of exile, for these unfortunate victims of colonial oppression.

Government of the rich islands lay in the hands of a Governor-General and Dutch officials. The Governor-General ruled with the aid of an advisory coun-

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cil of six members, all appointed by him. There was a parliament, a so-called people's council, in which the 70 million-odd inhabitants were represented by 30 Indonesians, 25 Dutchmen and five others. But 25 "Members of Parliament" were appointed, while the rest were elected by an indirect electoral system.

Such a background readily explains the Indonesian attitude to Dutch imperialist liberation, but what of the possibility that, following a world war fought with slogans, charters and agreements for a future world based on the Four Freedoms, conditions of the past will not be repeated? It is here that Indonesians, and especially those who have had a taste of democracy while living in Australia during the Japanese occupation of their homelands, have encountered one disappointment after another.

Rather than working out ways of improving conditions in the liberated Indies, Dutch tories, while in Australia, have been combating any such action. Under the very flag of liberation, the first action of the Dutch imperialist "liberators" was to reopen the concentration camp at Tanah Merah. According to most recent information available from this heavily censored and closely guarded part of the Dutch Empire, 16 Indonesians constituted the first batch of prisoners. These men who dared to open their mouths in vindication of higher wages and democratic government in the Indies were shanghaied to Dutch New Guinea and falsely accused of collaborating with the enemy.

One case concerns the refusal by Dutch authorities in Australia to release for alternative employment in that country two Indonesians, Misar and Doelrachman, the latter of whom spent 16 years at Tanah Merah. There is the case of Messrs. Supraptu and Troet, who were arrested with the legal aid of an extradition order, because they took part in the May Day march and were preparing the publication of an anti-fascist Indonesian newspaper in Australia. In another case, a pamphlet was issued in which a broadcast by Netherlands Minister Logeman had been criticized. Its publication was followed by the Dutch authorities' compiling dossiers of politically active Indonesians. These would be speedily removed to exile in Dutch New Guinea instead of being returned to their original homes. It is quite obvious that this policy is aimed at preventing the return to the lucrative colonies of men anxious to organize genuine Indonesian trade unions.

The situation at Balik Papan, on Borneo, gives further evidence of what can be expected in the future if Dutch tories are permitted to resume complete control in the liberated Indies. Proceeding with the repair of oil installations, the Shell Company now pays native workers exactly the same daily wages of 35 to 40 cents as before the war. Skilled workers are forcibly employed as unskilled laborers, so as to limit their wages. One native overseer said he received $3 for a fortnight's work, while an additional 90 cents were "deposited" for him, though he did not know where. Indonesian workers are frequently flogged by the Dutch overlords. If they refuse to work on the roads, they are thrown into jail or mercilessly beaten. Their hatred of the Japanese is universal, but their hatred of the Dutch imperialists is just as deep. The Dutch have succeeded in forcing through an anti-fraternization order between Australian troops at Tarakan and the natives, with severe penalties provided for infractions. However, Australian soldiers pay little attention to the ban, and much fraternization is going on, with many close friendships as a result.

The food situation is very acute. For this the Dutch authorities cannot be blamed, but they can be blamed for the "good old" ways adopted in the distribution. Apart from the fact that NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration) shops are the sole purchasers, agents, wholesalers and retailers of all foodstuffs, farmers who bring in the food under unimaginable transport difficulties, have 80 percent of their comparatively meager returns confiscated by the NICA shops for mysterious "deposits." Moreover, trading between Australian troops and Indonesians must be conducted through NICA shops, which reap exorbitant profits.

More than 90 percent of the Indonesians are illiterate. Dutch authorities have announced that a two-year course would be introduced—against the 3½-year courses at former "advertisement" schools—during which the Indonesians would be compelled to learn Dutch, just as Nippon made them learn Japanese.

A most disturbing factor has been the report from The Hague, according to which a Dutch expeditionary force was being specially trained in the art of coping with guerrillas. As there is no indication what guerrillas are meant, this army is likely to assume the role of keeping "law and order," which is now a phrase with a very specific meaning throughout Europe.

However, Indonesians who have been fired with democratic ideals while in Australia are continuing the old struggle. The Committee of Indonesians in Australia has issued a manifesto, calling on the world to assist their people in the struggle to win elementary rights, including freedom to settle Indonesia's internal and external affairs, establishment of parliamentary government on the basis of democratic franchise, irrespective of class, creed or color, freedom of assembly, of religion, of press, of speech and of organization, abolition of taxation on peasant land and a new deal for the peasants, and the right to organize trade unions and to strike.

The onus now rests on the Dutch people in Holland to rectify the position of their colonies and to bring their future government in line with democracy within their own house.

Melbourne BERNARD MEYER

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New York's Mayoralty Election

BACK IN 1933 a hardy band of political hopefuls started out on a great adventure. They were going to clean up New York City—eradicate its crime, its graft and all the other social diseases with which Tammany had infected it. Today, after twelve years of reform government, the big city is about to return to "normalcy." It has often been said that good government in New York was named Fiorello H. LaGuardia and that without LaGuardia it could not continue. Apparently this is true.

For the past two months New Yorkers have been treated to as elaborate, windy and vituperative a political campaign as any in the city's history. By Election Day, November 6, an estimated $3 million will have been spent by the various parties, glorifying their great American standard-bearers and disclosing the deviousness of the opposition. By day and by night the air waves reverberate with dozens of radio addresses and singing commercials.

Yet to all of this the public has been singularly unresponsive. Registration figures are the lowest they have been in any mayoralty year since Jimmy Walker's ouster thirteen years ago. Political rallies have rarely, if ever, been so poorly attended.

Altogether there are seven men running for Mayor, ranging from the Trotskyist candidate to the Industrial Government Party nominee. Only three have any chance of winning. They are: William O'Dwyer, the Democratic-American Labor Party designee, General Sessions Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, choice of the Republican, Liberal and City Fusion Parties, and Newbold Morris, running as an independent on an especially devised "No Deal" Party ticket, originated and sponsored by Mayor LaGuardia.

Two of these men were reared in the old machine school of politics. They adhere, more or less consistently, to the ancient maxims—live and let live, don't upset the apple-cart, and never, never, take campaign oratory too seriously. The third candidate, Newbold Morris, has a bright political future whenever he decides to cease behaving like a gentleman. Even the opposition concedes that of the three, his is the best record. But whether he could ever adjust himself to the roughhouse way of life which is constantly demanded of the metropolis' chief executive is a matter of continuous debate even in his own ranks.

The "turn-the-rascals-out" theme is missing. Despite what they say about each other, the public seems aware that none of the candidates is personally a bad sort. Nor is any outstanding. There is no intense love or hate motive, as there was when Roosevelt was opposed by Dewey. Various efforts have been made by both Goldstein and O'Dwyer backers to pep up the campaign by injecting racial and religious issues. In the Yiddish press, voters are being urged in almost so many words to support Goldstein because he is a Jew. A similar plea is being made for O'Dwyer in the Irish press. Both are meeting with little success.

According to the most scientific pre-election surveys, O'Dwyer's victory is regarded as almost a certainty. Consequently from his side there has been little fireworks. He is content to coast along. Adopting an old Roosevelt stratagem, he never mentions his opponents by name. His underlings have the job of making all the back-talk. Unless his personal veracity is questioned, his campaign managers say, he will make no replies. In a rather half-hearted way, he is putting himself on record—for better housing, increased state financial assistance to the city, against racial discrimination, vice and, of course, sin.

His backers, particularly those in the American Labor Party, seek to create the impression that he is in the Roosevelt-New Deal tradition. Actually he is far more conservative than the late President, less imaginative and by no means so militant. The most telling argument in his behalf is that his election is a blow at Thomas E. Dewey's chances of reëlection as Governor in 1946. Dewey is backing Goldstein.

O'Dwyer's opponents in both the GOP-Liberal-Fusion combine and in the No Deal camp have dealt with him harshly. Goldstein himself has forthrightly accused O'Dwyer of consorting with notorious underworld characters, such as Frank Costello, the slot-machine czar, and Joey Adonis, the king-pin gangster of Brooklyn. Up to the time this was written, O'Dwyer had made no satisfactory rebuttal. Morris has declared that O'Dwyer's record as a crime-buster in the Murder, Inc., episode was overrated. He says O'Dwyer never appeared as a trial lawyer and that the cases were prepared and conducted by his assistants.

Mayor LaGuardia has objected to O'Dwyer's efforts to whitewash the Democrats in the State Legislature by blaming Dewey and the Republicans exclusively for inadequate aid to the city. It is LaGuardia's contention that during the entire period of his administration there has been a bi-partisan conspiracy to withhold state funds in the hope that this might lead to the collapse of the Fusion government. Albany reporters will vouch for the fact that LaGuardia is correct.

The Liberal Party leaders charge that O'Dwyer knowingly works closely with Communists in the American Labor Party. O'Dwyer does not deny it or attempt to justify it. However, it should be noted that there has been an apparent cooling of Communist ardor for O'Dwyer since their new "militant" line was instituted. While still supporting his candidacy, they are

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concentrating more on reëlecting two Communist members to the City Council. The Sidney Hillman wing of the ALP, however, is enthusiastically for O'Dwyer.

One other serious charge from Goldstein sources is yet to be made openly. This is a speech by O'Dwyer, made during the Spanish civil war, praising Franco. That O'Dwyer made the remarks attributed to him is beyond dispute. Shortly thereafter he sought an out via some political double-talk. Addressing a Holy Name Society rally in Brooklyn, he said in effect: if Franco should turn out to be an adherent of totalitarianism, he should be condemned.

Despite this episode, O'Dwyer is not pro-fascist or anti-Semitic. He is easy-going and personally unbigoted, if somewhat thoughtless and at times too eager for that extra vote. What he has shown thus far in the campaign is that, after some initial tilts, he is not prepared to act independently of the party bosses. His advisers justify this on the ground that President Roosevelt also needed the aid of Frank Hague, Ed Kelly of Chicago and Boss Crump of Memphis.

Goldstein is waging by far the most vigorous campaign of the three candidates. Capitalizing on his early association with Al Smith—he says he was Smith's secretary, others say he was merely a clerk in Smith's Albany office—his electioneering is strictly sidewalks-of-New York style. Goldstein's major thesis is that his opponent's election means the return of Tammany with its tin boxes, wholesale graft and inevitable gangsterism. He points with scorn to Clarence Neal, Tammany elections chairman, and Bert Stand, Tammany secretary, allegedly the liaison agents with the underworld, and asks his listeners to envisage them as the City Fathers. His secondary theme is that an O'Dwyer victory would place Communists in highly strategic city posts. He cites the backing of Michael J. Quill of the Transport Workers' Union, Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union and other CIO left-wingers. Before Catholic audiences he has also condemned the "godlessness" of O'Dwyer's Communist allies.

Among Goldstein's supporters, particularly the Liberal Party, which is backed by David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (AFL) and long-time Roosevelt supporter, the argument is advanced that the present election is unconnected in any way with coming state or national elections. They contend that the same good-government forces, including conservative Republicans, which in the past rallied around LaGuardia, should now unite behind Goldstein. Communists are, of course, excluded. On the other hand, Goldstein's opponents maintain that his case as the "good-government" candidate collapses on two counts. First they note—with considerable accuracy—that he was actively seeking the Democratic nomination until a few hours before the party bosses gave it to O'Dwyer. Second, they point out that Goldstein has, during his entire political life, been a Tammany Democrat himself. He opposed the party leaders only when they stood in the way of his ambition to become a judge in the Court of General Sessions.

They maintain that Goldstein received the Republican nomination because Dewey wanted to split the Jewish vote, which is normally Democratic. In answer to charges of gangsterism, they urge him to think back to some of his own clients, while he was in law practice with his brother David. Democrats believe that Goldstein pulled the biggest boner of the campaign when recently, at a public dinner, he embraced the very Neal and Stand whom he and his colleagues had so consistently berated. According to Stand, Goldstein said, "Boys, I've always been one of you. Don't beat my brains out." Goldstein denies that he ever made this remark, but he has not denied effusively greeting the two men who supposedly symbolize civic evil incarnate.

Perhaps the underlying philosophy in both the O'Dwyer and Goldstein camps—certainly among their major party backers—was best summed up by a leading New York City Republican who was gassing with this correspondent and a gentleman from the New York *Times*. Said the *Times* man: "You know, Mr. X, that the Republicans don't have a city platform?" To which the political leader replied: "Haven't we? I'll get my stenographer at once and dictate one right now."

While the Morris campaign suffers from other handicaps, not the least of which is its late entry into the race, callousness is not one. Morris himself is a product of New York's silk-stocking district, a descendant of Revolutionary ancestors, educated at Groton and Yale. During the period of LaGuardia's administration he has served as president of the City Council, next in line should the Mayor die. He may be described as a Willkie Republican, although last year he made the usual perfunctory campaign talks for Dewey that are required of loyal party members. Before the Republicans chose Goldstein, he too had sought the GOP nomination in a detached sort of way.

However, neither the party bosses nor Dewey ever took Morris seriously as a mayoralty candidate. He was rarely, if ever, consulted on party decisions. But when Dewey came to Brooklyn and put his final o. k. on Goldstein, the borough chairman thought it would be wise to make a gesture toward LaGuardia supporters by redesignating Morris as Council president. But Morris gummed up the works. After consultation with LaGuardia, he denounced Goldstein as a Tammany Democrat and said he would not run on the same ticket with him. Hell, in a minor sort of way, broke loose. No one expected that nice Newbold, always so docile, would pull such a trick. The next day he was attacked by Republican and Liberal Party spokesmen as a disgruntled and disappointed candidate for Mayor.

After weeks of indecision as to whether to fight Goldstein in the Republican primaries or run as an independent candidate, Morris decided on the latter course. This decision was immediately seized upon, by

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Republicans particularly, as proof that his was a "spite ticket." They declared that if he had fought it out in the party primaries, this would in any event have proved that he was a loyal party man. But to enter a separate ticket could only be construed as a deliberate attempt to injure the party.

Some members of the Liberal Party regarded the entire scheme as a deal between O'Dwyer Democrats and Mayor LaGuardia, whereby in return for entering the Morris ticket—which presumably would cut heavily into Goldstein's Republican vote—LaGuardia would next year receive the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate. Before O'Dwyer received the Democratic designation, LaGuardia had promised an indorsement if he should publicly repudiate the bosses. O'Dwyer refused, and of his decision LaGuardia then said, "It looks like a case of rape by acquiescence and a good time was had by all."

Morris' campaign has been hard-hitting. Both his opponents, he says, are Tammany Democrats. When they accuse each other of dealing with gangsters, he feels sure they must know what they are talking about. He assails O'Dwyer and Goldstein as men who never lifted a finger in the cause of good government during the entire period of municipal reform. Dewey dictated the Goldstein ticket, Morris asserts, while O'Dwyer has always been subservient to Frank V. Kelly, the Brooklyn boss. Confident that he can be elected, Morris pins his hopes on a growing feeling of disgust among the voters.

If New York City is saddled with another Tammany administration—and the odds are that it will be—one further contributing cause is the division in the ranks of labor. Leaving the Communists out of consideration, the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party between them will probably poll close to three-quarters of a million votes.

Together with the independent progressives, they could have, without the slightest doubt, surpassed the million mark, which is enough to elect a Mayor. Standing together, they could have had anyone they wanted —ex-Governor Lehman, Samuel Rosenman, Charles Evans Hughes Jr. or a host of others. Standing together, they probably would also have won the support of one of the major parties, which would have had to listen to their terms.

The reason for this disunity is the continuing feud between Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and David Dubinsky of the ILGWU. It is futile to go into the merits of their respective cases and no one except their most ardent partisans gives a hoot. However, the cause of clean municipal government is unquestionably the victim. ROBERT G. SPIVACK

Group Sanctions Against Racism

A SYNDICATED COLUMN by John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News* charged on October 2, 1945, that "behind the successful drive to disgrace and remove General George S. Patton from his army command in occupied Germany is the secret and astoundingly effective might of this republic's foreign-born political leaders—such as Justice of the Supreme Court Felix Frankfurter, of Vienna; White House administrative assistant Dave (Devious Dave) Niles, alias Neyhus; and the Latvian ex-rabbinical student now known as Sidney Hillman. . . . These boys and their pals decided to go out and get General Patton's hide and rank" because—the columnist "revealed" —the soldier who got slapped by Patton in an army hospital was of Jewish descent. "Then Patton proved himself a great leader and hero in France. But his foes here in Washington never forgot the Sicilian episode."

The story was made out of whole cloth; the soldier slapped by Patton was not a Jew, and no Jewish "political leader" had anything to do with Patton's transfer.[1] But the canard received wide publicity. The New York *Daily News* alone has a daily circulation of more than two million copies. The Jews were shocked, then worried. The Jewish press charged that the Jewish organizations, instead of assuming a militant leadership, confined themselves to a letter to the editor.

Can't the Jewish organizations do better than that? It is easy to say "militant leadership," "war against neo-fascism," etc., but when war is declared, what form shall warfare take?

Among the weapons available in a society built upon the profit motive, there is that of economic action: refusal to patronize, picketing, boycott. Could not a defamed minority refuse to buy or advertise in a publication guilty of attacks which follow the classical pattern of *Mein Kampf*? Could not Jewish organizations ask all decent Americans to support them in their action? Or should they bring a suit for libel and try to get satisfaction through the courts?

The answer is—according to what may be described as legal statics—that they cannot safely do any of these things. Legal dynamics, new trends, or straws in the wind, may point in the other direction. But the orthodox "law on the books" seems to be weighted against them. To begin with, in the eyes of the law the Jews do not exist as a group. They may be murdered as a group, but they may not complain about it *as a group*. They can be defamed as a sinister gathering of the Elders of

[1] O'Donnell made a complete retraction in his column of October 19.—THE EDITORS

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Zion, or of ritual murderers, but there is no effective remedy against their defamation as a group. The harm done to each of them may be far greater than what he could suffer from personal defamation. But neither as a group nor as individuals are Jews entitled to ask that their defamer prove his assertions or be branded a libeler.

This is no accident. It is in keeping with the basic character of modern law which—after having been permeated by Renaissance individualism—has become a law of relations among individuals and lost its feeling for collective rights or group responsibilities.

This attitude, which is based on the recognition of the value of human personality, has made for much progress in human relations. But in its blindness to group relations it fails to conform with reality. The course of our individual lives often depends more on the fate of the group to which we belong—family, union, class or race—than on our own individual merits. Even if the trials of war criminals did not abandon the theory of individual guilt, expiation by the Germans —*i. e.*, loss of political or economic independence—had, by its nature, to be collective. When responsibilities are clearly collective, such as in the case of a lynching, attempts to allocate individual guilt lead inevitably to a breakdown of justice.

Of course an individual may stop reading, or advertising in, the *News*. But if a group decided not to patronize that paper and tried to induce others to do likewise, the ghosts of criminal conspiracy, combinations in restraint or secondary boycott would be raised against them. This is what paralyzes collective action and reduces a number of organizations to the device—welcome to some and odious to others—of writing letters to the editor or to the "sitting down at lunch with the Colonel" technique.

To lay those ghosts vision and courage are needed. At the cost of life and limb, American labor has laid the ghosts of conspiracy and boycott, and invigorating currents have penetrated the American political atmosphere. Those who are responsible for the honor and livelihood of the threatened minorities must persuade the popular, political and legal opinion of the country that *people singled out for attack as a group have the right to defend themselves as a group.*

This principle has led, in industrial relations, to collective bargaining and has provided a defense against conspiracy charges. The same principle can lead to equally important results in the field of ethnic relations. For instance, the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws should not be left to individual initiative only, but minority organizations should be given the power, analogous to that enjoyed by the unions under the NLRA, to file charges of unfair practices.

Our present problem, however, does not require legislative intervention. Collective bargaining was granted to labor by statute. But its second basic right —to picket and boycott—was won by effecting a change of judicial attitude. This change has removed labor picketing from the inferno of criminal conspiracy, or the purgatory of disorderly conduct, to the constitutionally protected sphere of freedom of speech, and has put labor's right to picket and boycott beyond the reach of unreasonably restrictive municipal ordinances, state statutes or congressional enactments.

This change in judicial attitude was not the result of the discovery of a new legal argument. As in all basic constitutional issues, the operative forces were ethical or political rather than strictly legal. It was the recognition of the moral and political importance of the economic issues that labor was presenting to the country. To say that the pickets or boycotters "just spoke" was not enough to afford them constitutional protection. Freedom of speech does not mean freedom to say whatever one pleases. A number of torts, misdemeanors, felonies and even capital offenses can be committed through speech alone.

Suppliers of a commodity, for instance, could not picket a customer's store or otherwise discourage the public from patronizing him because he refused to pay the suppliers a "fair price." But suppliers of labor have the right to picket the store of an employer who refuses to pay "fair wages." In 1943, Texas declared that solicitation of union membership, like the solicitation of insurance, would be subject to prior licensing by the state. Some members of the Supreme Court argued that unions were business organizations and that the state could subject them to restraints similar to those usually imposed upon economic activities. But a majority held that the statute was unconstitutional. The reason for this decision lies in the recognition of the general value of the ideals for which labor fights, of the general public interest in the problems that it raises, in the need for the citizenship to be informed about the controversy and the opposing arguments. The political and the social value of the aim pursued make the use of the boycott weapon legal.

Do racial and religious tensions have a public importance similar to that recognized in industrial tensions? Does the public need to be enlightened about the various aspects of racial or religious unfairness, such as incitement to hatred or exclusion from employment and educational opportunities? Is not a fair settlement of ethnic relations as important for the general welfare of the country as the fair settlement of industrial relations? If so, then the right to appeal to public solidarity must be upheld even if the appeal results in an individual refusal to patronize or in a mass boycott. Thornhill v. Alabama was concerned with labor picketing only. But the language of the Court's opinion asserted "the liberty to *discuss* publicly and truthfully *all matters of public concern* without previous restraint or fear of subsequent punishment." (My italics. – A. H. P.)

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However, the recognition of the right of minorities to confront the American people with the problem of racial justice cannot come from a royal grant or a gracious judicial decree. Assertion must precede recognition. Like every other boundary, the line between lawful and unlawful acts is shaped by the forces active on both sides of the line. The boundary between incitement to boycott and the advocacy of social sanctions against violators of decency is variously drawn by society and its judges in various circumstances. And the result depends, to an overwhelming extent, on the way in which the action is conceived and felt by the actors themselves.

In theory, if a man has a right, he possesses it whether or not he is aware of it. In political reality, however, awareness and assertion of rights can become the condition of their existence. Secrecy and deviousness are incompatible with assertion. An act which is a manifestation of inalienable freedom if performed in a manner consistent with the dignity of a free man, may become unlawful if performed surreptitiously. Concealed inducements to advertisers or subscribers to cancel their contracts is secondary boycott. An open appeal to the conscience of advertisers, subscribers and the public at large, is exercise of freedom of speech. And this is as it should be. A public appeal states the issue, recites the accusation, affords an opportunity to refute factual falsehoods and logical fallacies or opposes an appeal to reason against an appeal to emotion. It transforms a base conspiracy condemned by the law into a trial by public opinion protected by the charter of freedom.

The answer to hatred and oppression is not mere debate, or legislation alone, or half-hearted pressure. Once again, the history of labor affords a lesson: debate *plus* pressure, legislation *plus* picketing, individual protection *plus* group action offer the only chance of success. Nor is the ideal value of the struggle impaired by the injection of an economic motif. On the contrary, a community has the moral duty to see to it that, like any other crime, racial aggression does not pay.

Not that the task is easy. Racial exploitation, discrimination and defamation have long been good business and their economic bastion is beyond the reach of minority snipers. Only public support can help them. But the recognition of their right to appeal for such support cannot come without an uphill fight. Assertion, we said, must precede recognition. But recognition does not always follow assertion, and almost never does so *at once*. If the minorities want to conquer the right to collective action they must be ready for financial and physical sacrifices—and for setbacks and defeats. No change can be accomplished with a previous license, and no revolution, however peaceful, with a declaratory judgment obtained in advance.

On the other hand, short-range defeats are often long-range victories. The defeat of a righteous cause in a court often becomes an impelling argument for legislative or social change and results in a political victory. Nor can it be expected that the courts will decide this issue without the usual "distinctions." The advocacy of a boycott of an employer guilty of racial or religious discrimination may fall not only within the definition of a labor dispute for the purposes of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, but also within the scope of freedom of speech. On the other hand, it is conceivable that picketing and boycott may be outlawed as an answer to defamation. It could be that the only constitutional restraint on the defamers' constitutional freedom to advocate religious hatred—and the *News* in an editorial has claimed that right for O'Donnell—is not the freedom of the defamed to advocate a boycott of the defamers, but an action for libel. This, however, should focus attention on the failure of our law to provide the victims of group defamation with an adequate defense against libel and lead to a judicial or legislative reversal of the prevailing policy against group libel actions.

All this is within the realm of political and judicial probabilities. However, one thing is certain: the chances of success cannot really be determined in advance of action. To win or to lose may be a question of luck. But the game must be played according to rules. And the rules of the game now call for neither apologetic propaganda nor economic guerrilla warfare, which the loosely knit American minorities could not afford anyway. The rules of the game and decent respect for American opinion call today for an open declaration of economic war against racial aggression and for a full statement of reasons to be submitted, in each individual case, to public opinion.

American minorities have no other force, no other weapon and no other hope than America herself. To pit the economic power of the minorities against a powerful newspaper would be no more hopeful than to assume that a Fifth Avenue beauty parlor would go bankrupt if the members of the hairdressers' union stopped patronizing it. The essence of boycott is an appeal to the solidarity of all decent citizens. The American minorities have the right to launch such an appeal. The Jews—and the Negroes—have a right to picket the *News* and the newsstands and call for their boycott by all truth-loving men and women. The Negroes—and the Jews—have the right to picket the DAR's Constitution Hall and to ask all lovers of art and beauty not to cross their line. They have the right to picket and call for the boycott of those New York department stores which, in the teeth of the Ives-Quinn law, are today as lily-white as ever.

This kind of struggle is not without risks. But it is well to remember that those who voyage and take no risks are destined to perish. ALEXANDER H. PEKELIS

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Washington Notes

The Time for Decision

RIGHT NOW there is more Washington news breaking than the papers can cover. Most days anywhere from 15 to 20 separate congressional committees hold hearings. President Truman addresses a joint session on universal training. World and domestic issues of major importance are boiling up for decision. The 10-power conference on the control of Japan scheduled here Tuesday, and postponed a week, may have a Soviet representative, may not. Then there are taxes, wages, hours and prices, the atomic bomb. No wonder reporters think Truman looks a bit tired. He's still going at a ferocious rate. Press-association men who cover him and his trips urge him to slow down. He just laughs and tells them to quit complaining. But seasoned reporters ask how he can carry the load, see the visitors he does (about twice or thrice the Roosevelt list) and at the same time make wise decisions. The decisions, of course, are the hard part. Snap judgments threaten trouble for Truman: the ill considered ousting (and Truman's later private apology) of William H. Davis, head of the WLB, is a case in point.

There's no press "conspiracy of silence" about the aluminum-plant-disposal hearing, but it shows how a tremendous subject can be neglected in times like these. Aluminum is what Muscle Shoals was to World War I. Senator Norris wouldn't let Henry Ford buy Muscle Shoals—the result is the TVA. Muscle Shoals was worth only $100 million; the government-built aluminum plants are worth seven times as much; on the disposal pattern followed for them will hinge the fate of $14 billion of additional government-owned war plants. It is one of the biggest decisions before America. A joint, three-committee hearing under Senator O'Mahoney holds daily meetings. The combined membership of these committees—if they were all present, which they aren't—would be about one-third of the Senate. And you hardly read a word about it in the papers.

A court has declared the gigantic Aluminum Company of America a monopoly, and ordered it dissolved, under conditions that will be determined by these hearings. Wendell Berge, for the Justice Department, sits in like a sheriff with a writ of attachment. He will serve the writ if an arrangement is not made to turn the government's aluminum plants over to Alcoa's rivals, thus ensuring real competition. Everybody agrees that the government plants should be turned over to independent companies because it is dangerous for a nation to have a vast basic industry under one-company domination. But the independent companies won't bid. They can't. Alcoa, they declare, is too firmly entrenched. Everybody at the hearings wants free enterprise and competition—none more so than GOP stalwart, Senator Wherry. He beats his breast for free enterprise. But Surplus Property Administrator Symington leans forward. He's at the hearings, too, like the Army and Navy representatives. "Do you want free enterprise enough to give these independent companies a subsidy to start business?" Symington demands. He asks this again and again. He brings the Senators down out of their oratorical clouds. The Senators say no, they don't want subsidies; but they don't want monopoly either. "Well, suppose the only way to ensure free enterprise is to give initial subsidies?" Symington rather cruelly repeats. And that's the question for the Senators and the nation to decide.

All last week this correspondent conscientiously listened to a procession of America's most famous molecular physicists and other scientists testifying on the atomic bomb. The scientists are unanimous on two points: First, the atomic-bomb "secret" is no secret at all. And, second, there is no military defense against it except other bombs.

There is a disposition not to face facts, to squirm away into wishful thinking. America now has the industrial edge in producing the bomb and can keep it for a few years, but that isn't really important unless the country sets out to subjugate the world, which it won't. Because one bomb can do so much damage, the discovery ultimately weakens our defensive position in relation to other nations. The present bombs are toys compared to what lies ahead. Other testimony: Russia can probably duplicate the bomb in from 5 to 10 years; atomic energy probably won't run motor cars, because you would have to carry around 50 or 60 tons of graphite or lead to insulate you from by-product rays; atomic energy will be harnessed industrially, as a starter, in "about 10 years," probably to produce electric power. If mankind has sense enough to follow the obvious path of self-interest, atomic energy will be an amazing boon; if it doesn't—well, better buy a cave now.

Notes.—Truman has been President long enough for the first flock of cabinet "resignation rumors" to arise. The first names mentioned are Snyder and Schwellenbach. . . . Repeal of the Smith-Connally Act will almost certainly be made the vehicle for a big anti-labor drive to enact compulsory arbitration. . . . Columnist John O'Donnell publicly admits his anti-Semitic Patton article was "untrue" on the basis of later evidence; question is how this affects the retrial of his libel suit against the Philadelphia *Record*, which called him a Nazi. . . . In the last Congress, the 281 House roll calls took about 45 minutes each (435 names); this consumed 210 hours, representing 42 legislative days on the usual 5-hour basis, and 7 weeks on a 6-day-week basis. Electric recording devices could be installed that would be almost instantaneous. . . . Washington *Post* writer James Chinn estimates present Washington lobby strength at 1,500, three times prewar, and about three to each congressman. . . . Edward A. Harris, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* writer, discloses that the oil companies passed on the tideland-oil resolution before it was submitted to Congress and that they will pay part of the fee of William W. Clary, one of its chief drafters and a California state official. . . . Next to the disposal of the aluminum plants, that of the government's two great war-built Texas-to-Eastern pipelines is perhaps most significant; oil interests want them scrapped, natural-gas interests fear that the government will continue them to break high Eastern gas prices. . . .The latest monthly publication of the Federal Reserve Board explodes the theory that the mass of workers have big savings; studies show that war

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savings are big, but 77 percent are in hands of the top-third income group, 17 percent in the middle third and only 6 percent in the lower third. In other words, industry must depend on high wages, not war savings, to sell its mass products. . . . With the excess-profits-tax repeal set for January 1, employers can look with some complacency on strikes till then; in effect, profits made on goods sold before that date pay this tax; those after, don't. Some producers may be tempted to have a slowdown till next year anyway.
Washington T. R. B.

Assorted Murders

Therese, by Thomas Job, based on Zola's Thérèse Raquin. Biltmore Theatre, October 9, 1945.
The Assassin, by Irwin Shaw. National Theatre, October 17, 1945.

THE PLAY that Miss Eva Le Gallienne presents follows Zola's situation of the orphan girl married off to her cousin and slaving in his mother's home when she falls in love with an artist who frequents the house and is a great favorite of the old lady. The husband is a milliner, a designer for wealthy clients; he is spoiled, selfish and neurotic. In due time the two lovers plot the death of the husband and drown him. The mother wishes the girl to marry the painter. They marry, but the thought of the dead man and their crime haunts them on their marriage night to the point of torture. The mother overhears their conversation and suffers a stroke. For six months then her eyes follow them: in no other way can she give a sign of life. Finally she reaches the point where she can move her hands, and using the lettered pieces of a game, she spells out the secret to the police officer. The two are taken off to prison.

It is useful to tell that much of the story in order to show the play's relation to the original Zola. It is plainly of the genre he practised, the kind of realism that he set out to create. In French and in its epoch, "Thérèse Raquin" was marked by a certain drab unity of texture in the writing and by a unified, insistent mood of realistic drabness. What strength or entertainment the play possessed relied on the establishment of just that quality.

In bringing the play over into English, Mr. Thomas Job has modified that quality. He neither achieves a kind of writing that is fierce and passionate, biting and theatric, nor, at the other extreme, does he create a unity and tone that Zola or, say, Henri Becque would have striven for. Even if he had got this latter effect, and the whole acting and Miss Webster's directing had achieved the same, it is only fair to say that the effort would have been wasted: the occasion would have seemed very much dated, a type of theatre art that is no longer sought after.

The result is that "Therese" frequently drags, appears to be stretched out, especially at the beginning and even more so in the scenes connected with the wedding. You have the impression all too often that the play is not holding up the actors. This is a pity, for Miss Le Gallienne, Dame May Whitty and Mr. Victor Jory all play well and play well together. The role of Therese affords Miss Le Gallienne opportunities for some of her most profound qualities. She plays often with mordant conviction and great beauty. Mr. Victor Jory is what you rarely see in such role: he is entirely believable as the artist. And Dame Whitty in the final scenes where she must remain in her chair motionless, rises to genuine power.

Mr. Raymond Sovey's designs for the setting and costumes—1875—were very successful.

It is almost ten years now since Mr. Irwin Shaw's "Bury the Dead" was produced. Many people remember its moving appeal and the effective theatre of it. Mr. Shaw's new play, written in London in the months before D-Day and produced there last March, has been put on at the National with great care, with discretion and sincerity. The roles are unusually well cast as types go and are played fairly enough. And Mr. Boris Aronson's settings are excellent. But on the whole the evening does not seem to come off. I should not say that, taking it moment by moment, "The Assassin" is boring. You listen to it with attention. But there seems to be no line running through it, and since it follows the death of Admiral Darlan closely enough for you to know the outcome even before the curtain rises, there is no suspense, though doubtless some is intended in the young hero's case —they promise to substitute a sick man who has volunteered to take his place at the last moment and save him from being shot. If the play does not seem to come off or get anywhere very much, despite its perilous and urgent material, it is at least literate; some of the speeches are far above the usual run of plays and the dramatist has created an intelligent hero who can express himself and whose motives are both complex and intense. This role brings to our stage for the first time the Swedish actor, Mr. Frank Sundstrom. He is a genuine addition. His playing is sensitive, in fine taste and technically expert. STARK YOUNG

Drooping Spirits

NOEL COWARD's English production of "Blithe Spirit" opens with a seance in the home of an English novelist (Rex Harrison) in which appears Elvira, his ex-wife. Elvira, now a ghost, still loves him and plans to have him killed. Her plan misfires, killing instead the novelist's second wife (Constance Cummings). As spirits the two wives bother each other and their husband so much that they request dematerialization and a home on the astral plane. The medium (Margaret Rutherford) runs through her repertory trying to accomplish this, using Irving Berlin's "Always," salt and pepper shakers, bad poetry, a crystal ball, geometry, a ladder and a chambermaid; she fails and advises the novelist to leave home. As he is about to start, he is killed.

These people seem to be stuffed with sawdust; their chief expressions are cruelty, boredom, sick amusement, distaste, limp superiority, fatigue, distrust; often they seem to be trying to laugh. Their voices—which are the only reason for their presence in the film—are metallic, insincere and flaccid; their talk, catty wisecracks and pallid lasciviousness; most of the acting is canned. Though half-convincing as English anemic types, they are just as close to stock drawing-room characters and there is little effort to show anything substantially comic or important about them, to illuminate them for any purpose or to make their dullness bright. The producer seems partially aware of this insipid quality.

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Elvira, who is the color of pale green celluloid and acts somewhat crocked, has some softness and freshness. There is a tantalizing, foolish quality about her doll-like movements, some ironic wit about her coloring and the sleazy garment she wears; she uses her childish voice facetiously and well, and occasionally she is photographed in a lustful way. But even she seems incredibly phony at times. The female medium, who looks like a policeman, is loaded with enough mannerisms for thirty-five characters—the least amusing being her use of clichés and the funniest her jolting changes of attitude, such as the extraordinary contentment she expresses when she hears there are going to be dry martinis. She is played with an unusual virtuosity that manages to get in every one of a thousand attitudes clearly and to unify them into a caricature of the middle-aged English woman who is all optimism, tweeds, plaids, bobbed hair, forward progress and bird-books, has the facial structure and outdoor look of an American Indian, can realize snobbery and cynicism, is never down but can be hurt for just a minute. Her first meeting with Elvira has great charm—she fails to locate the apparition by a long mile. When Elvira blows on her neck she goes to pieces.

"Blithe Spirit" just misses being a very dull movie. Its images have the cooked-up look of Lord Calvert whiskey advertisements. There is so little movement that when the husband blows some smoke rings in one scene and fastens the back of his wife's dress in another, the two actions take on major importance. The seances, which have the psychic force of a bridge game, are photographed in a forceful, impersonal way, and are the only scenes that don't consist of theatrically articulated talk between immobilized people. The spirits appear and disappear with as little waywardness or comic purpose as a man pushing a piano into a room. The treatment does achieve a good deal of the pedestrian conservatism of home-cooked spiritualism, but even this variety could stand more supernatural excitement. Aside from its unconvincing, pooped, production of ghosts and the dreariest scratching at marriage, the movie has nothing to say or show about anyone or anything, and after the first half-hour the only remarkable fact about "Blithe Spirit" is that its characters go on talking.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

A puzzled [American] colonel said to me only a few nights ago that he had been talking to some highly placed Germans, who posed these questions:

"Don't you think the British are a seedy race? You don't like the French, do you? You don't trust the Russians, do you? Well, then, why did you fight us?"

The troubled colonel said to me, "And you know, they struck me dumb. There just wasn't any answer."—*Raymond Daniell in the New York* Times *Sunday Magazine Section.*

"My feelings about orders in regard to the gas chamber were to be slightly surprised and wonder to myself whether such action was really right."—*Statement of Josef Kramer, commandant of the Belsen Concentration Camp, as quoted in the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

Tobacco: Not being a smoker myself, I am in no position to forecast as to the future of the tobacco industry.—*Roger Babson in his syndicated column.*

Hands Across the Sea

Every outstanding naval and army commander in the war just ended was an American, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, assured the Advertising Club of Washington at a luncheon today. . . . The American victories, he went on, would never be "explained away," as were those of 1898 and 1918. "There will never again, thank God," he said, "be a class of groveling, obsequious snobs, who will seek to be better than other Americans by admitting inferiority to foreigners."—*From the Louisville* Courier-Journal.

Q. E. D.

Perhaps the best proof of [Gabriel] Heatter's innate sincerity is the fact that he actually uses the products he so urgently recommends.—*From* Newsweek.

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Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Negroes and the Vote

SIR: Three cheers! The case (the suit of the Reverend P. E. King against Georgia Democratic Party officials who refused him the right to vote in a primary because he is a Negro) about which I wrote in the *New Republic* of October 22 has been favorably decided. As yet there has been no editorial comment on the decision in either the Macon *News* or the *Telegraph.*

Needless to say, this decision is much more important, in its practical effects, than the abolition of poll taxes.

Macon, Ga. LIEUTENANT B. R., USNR

Scientists and the Draft

SIR: General Marshall's report carries a statement emphasizing the contribution of America's scientists to the speedy winning of the war. Among the scientists and engineers who participated in the development of radar, rockets and the atomic bomb, many are under 26; in our own laboratory, which brought forth such weapons as the bazooka and aircraft rockets, about 35 percent of the technical personnel fall into that age group. These men will be drafted shortly unless something is done to prevent it.

Only a few thousand scientists and engineers under 26 were deferred during the war. If they are drafted now, it will dangerously deplete the supply of technically trained men. Several of us here at the laboratory have felt that our case was hopeless owing to the general misconception that we have been

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evading the draft and that the new military weapons were developed by Army Ordnance, rather than by self-effacing civilian research teams. The average citizen cannot see any reason for not drafting those of us who would otherwise go back to industry or college; however, if we enter the Army now, it will be several years at least before we can be of any effective use to the nation.

Cumberland, Md. ROBERT ST. GEORGE

No Xantippe

SIR: I note that the *New Republic* comes to me labeled, "Xavier Carson." Since I do not remember using this name when writing you, I assume the initial "X" has created some curiosity in the office. I have no objections, though very far from being a saint myself, to the use of the name of one. I was not named for Saint Xavier, but for another gentleman whose name began with "X," and the story is rather interesting.

My father was a great reader of history, and while reading history found time to rear a large family—seven boys and three girls. Eight of these children were named for people whose names began with "X," as follows: Xerxes, Xenophon, Xanthus, Xylander, Ximenes, Xuthus, Xystus, and the sister, Xenia. My name happens to be the fourth in line.

At home on an East Texas farm, opened in 1869, the year I was born, we had little trouble with the one initial, but when we were grown up our sweetheart correspondence gave us some concern. And after we had gone out into the world looking around for ourselves, and doing business with others, we found some difficulty in explaining why the "X." Of course the whole story had to be told. Only four of the ten children are now living, and our father and mother have been dead thirty-five years. We were born in the early days in Texas and have seen it grow from a wilderness to a great state.

Dallas, Tex. XYLANDER CARSON

Justice for the CO's

SIR: In your endeavor to remind the public of social injustices, I wish you would call their attention to the unfair treatment accorded to conscientious objectors, who are being detained in CPS camps and detached service units without any hope of demobilization.

There seems to be no apparent reason, other than discrimination, for the refusal of Selective Service to begin demobilization of the CO's. Equality of treatment before the law demands that the CO's shall be discharged in the same numerical ratio as other drafted men. The Selective Service Act of 1940 recognizes the rights of conscience in the 4-E clause. It defines the status of conscientious objectors to war, and provides for them to do "work of national importance." It gives no indication whatever that men so assigned should be treated differently after the war from any other draftees. Yet this is exactly what is happening.

Conscientious objectors, in keeping with their convictions, have made many valuable contributions to human welfare during the war. They have suffered many hardships which have gone unpublicized to a great extent and this they have done without pay, dependency allowances, workmen's compensation or clothing allowances. Selective Service has consistently been unfair in its treatment of CO's, and apparently intends to allow no relaxation in its policy, which, from all appearances, is dictated by the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Now that the war is over, there seems to be no justification for continuation of this abuse. Our present treatment of the CO is the antithesis of our beliefs and a repudiation of human rights provided for in our Constitution. Surely we should start now to encourage the freedom of religion for which we fought this war. We can make a good start by urging the release of CO's in the same proportion as releases are granted to men in the armed services.

KATHARINE TUCKER

Philadelphia, Pa.

Sharecroppers' Wages

SIR: In your editorial columns of September 17, you protested wisely against the proposed ceilings on wages of cotton-pickers in the South, piece-rate ceilings equivalent usually to wages of less than $2 a day. However, one of your statements may be misleading to your readers—your reference to the fact that "the poor sharecropper . . . is enjoying unprecedented war prosperity." It is true that the price of cotton is high, but the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union reports that 60 percent of the farm families in Arkansas received less than $400 cash for their work in 1944. This is certainly higher than average sharecropper earnings in prewar years: a study conducted by leading economists under the auspices of the University of North Carolina found "the average gross income per farm family engaged in cotton growing [in 1933] $216." But is even $400 a year "prosperity"? The sharecroppers themselves do not think so; the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is conducting a campaign for a guaranteed annual wage of $625.

Whether he is prosperous or not, the sharecropper does not gain from the imposition of low wage ceilings on cotton-picking because so many sharecroppers pick cotton for wages in order to supplement earnings from their own holdings. Furthermore, sharecroppers in the main rely on the members of their families to pick the crops on their own acres, as they seldom have capital to hire labor.

The Economic Stabilization Act was surely not designed to force even lower the wages of the most underpaid labor in the entire nation, and it is absurd to initiate such action this year, as demobilization and lay-offs are already beginning to alleviate the labor shortage.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, Secretary-Treasurer,
National Sharecroppers' Fund

New York City

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Professor Howard Parsons writes again about Lucille B. Milner's comment (the *New Republic*, October 1) on his letter about her article, "Church, State and Schools," which appeared in our issue of August 13. He says that he does not feel that a religious revival is what is needed to save America and suggests that we need rather an "objective criterion of faith." However, he points out that freedom of religion and separation of church and state in the United States (in which he concurs) have also meant freedom of propaganda for religious organizations, just as "the religion and folklore of capitalism" have been spread. Therefore, he feels that "prohibitory laws are not enough. . . . Liberals need a positive plan, empirically and progressively discovered by the people and their specialized experts . . . if their faith is to prove sound and strong in the face of fanatical and evil forces."

Mr. C. A. U. Craven of Shawinigan Falls, Quebec, in comment on Professor Parsons' letter, deplores the fact that relatively few have access to scientific knowledge or to the scientific method in the social sciences, and points out that "the large majority of people in the Western countries receive their first training in human behavior through the medium of the Bible," and agrees that more scientific thought should be brought to bear on religion.

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Books in Review

The More It Is the Same[1]

7,000 DUTCH TROOPS
WAIT CALL TO JAVA
–*Headline in* PM, *October 17, 1945.*

. . . Java! Outwardly the docile colony with the subject race, which was no match for the rude trader who, in the golden age of his republic, with the young strength of a youthful people, greedy and eager for gain, stout and phlegmatic, planted his foot and his flag on the crumbling empires, on the thrones which tottered as though the earth had been in seismic labor. But, deep in its soul, it was never subjected, though smiling in proud, contemptuous resignation and bowing submissively beneath its fate; deep in its soul, despite a cringing reverence, it lived in freedom its own mysterious life, hidden from western eyes, however these might seek to fathom the secret—as though with a philosophic intention of maintaining before all a proud and smiling tranquillity, pliantly yielding and to all appearances courteously approaching—but deep within itself divinely certain of its own views and so far removed from all its rulers' ideals of civilization that no fraternization between master and servant will ever take place, because the difference which ferments in soul and blood remains insuperable. And the European, proud in his might, in his strength, in his civilization and his humanity, rules arrogantly, blindly, selfishly, egotistically, amidst all the intricate cog-wheels of his authority, which he slips into gear with the certainty of clockwork, controlling its every movement, till to the foreigner, the outside observer, this overlordship of tangible things, this colonizing of territory alien in race and mind, appears a masterpiece, a very world created.

But beneath all this show the hidden force lurks, slumbering now and unwilling to fight. . . . As for the native, he reads his overlord with a single penetrating glance; he sees in him the illusion of civilization and humanity and he knows that they are non-existent. While he gives him the title of lord and the homage due to the master, he is profoundly conscious of his democratic, commercial nature and despises him for it in silence and judges him with a smile which his brother understands; and he too smiles. . . . What is will not always be. . . . Dumbly he hopes that God will lift up those who are oppressed. . . . Never is there the harmony that understands; never does that love blossom forth which is conscious of unity; and between the two there is always the gap.–*Louis Couperus,* The Hidden Force (1922), *translated by Texeira de Mattos.*

ATTLEE ON INDONESIA: "WE OWE
MORAL OBLIGATION TO DUTCH"
–*Headline in the New York* Post, *October 17, 1945.*

You ask me what the English workers think of the colonial policy? The same as they think about politics in general. There is no labor party here, there are only conservatives and liberal radicals, and the workers enjoy with them the fruits of the British world market and colonial monopoly.–*Friedrich Engels to Karl Kautsky, September 12, 1882.*

U. S. ADOPTS
A HANDS-OFF
POLICY IN JAVA
–*Headline in the New York* Herald Tribune, *October 16, 1945.*

JAVA: DUTCH HANDS
TENSE ON U. S. GUNS
–*New York* Post, *October 17, 1945.*

Alas! what sounds are these that come
Sullenly over the Pacific seas,—
Sounds of ignoble battle. . . .

Lies! lies! It cannot be! The wars we wage
Are noble, and our battles still are won
By justice for us, ere we lift the gage.
We have not sold our loftiest heritage.
The proud republic hath not stooped to cheat
And scramble in the market-place of war. . . .

I will not and I dare not yet believe!
Though furtively the sunlight seems to grieve,
And the spring-laden breeze
Out of the gladdening west is sinister
With sounds of nameless battle overseas;
Though when we turn and question in suspense
If these things be indeed after these ways,
And what things are to follow after these,
Our fluent men of place and consequence
Fumble and fill their mouths with hollow phrase,
Or for the end-all of deep arguments
Intone their dull commercial liturgies—
I dare not yet believe! My ears are shut!
I will not hear the thin satiric praise
And muffled laughter of our enemies,
Bidding us never sheathe our valiant sword
Till we have changed our birthright for a gourd
Of wild pulse stolen from a barbarian's hut. . . .

Was it for this our fathers kept the law?
This crown shall crown their struggle and their ruth?
Are we the eagle nation Milton saw
Mewing its mighty youth,
Soon to possess the mountain winds of truth,
And be a swift familiar of the sun
Where aye before God's face his trumpets run?
Or have we but the talons and the maw,
And for the abject likeness of our heart
Shall some less lordly bird be set apart?
Some gross-billed wader where the swamps are fat?
Some gorger in the sun? Some prowler with the bat?

[1] As always, the artist is the best historian of the meaning of things.–GEORGE MAYBERRY

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Ah, no!
We have not fallen so. . . .
Oh, by the sweet blood and young
Shed on the awful hill slope at San Juan,
By the unforgotten names of eager boys
Who might have tasted girl's love and been stung
With the old mystic joys
And starry griefs, now the spring nights come on,
But that the heart of youth is generous—
We charge you, ye who lead us,
Breathe on their chivalry no hint of stain!
Turn not their new-world victories to gain!
One least leaf plucked for chaffer from the bays
Of their dear praise,
One jot of their pure conquest put to hire,
The implacable republic will require;
With clamor, in the glare and gaze of noon,
Or subtly, coming as a thief at night,
But surely, very surely, slow or soon
That insult deep we deeply will requite.
Tempt not our weakness, our cupidity!
For save we let the island men go free,
Those baffled and dislaureled ghosts
Will curse us from the lamentable coasts
Where walk the frustrate dead.
The cup of trembling shall be drainèd quite,
Eaten the sour bread of astonishment,
With ashes of the hearth shall be made white
Our hair, and wailing shall be in the tent;
Then on your guiltier head
Shall our intolerable self-disdain
Wreak suddenly its anger and its pain;
For manifest in that disastrous light
We shall discern the right
And do it, tardily.—O ye who lead,
Take heed!
Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite.
– William Vaughn Moody, "An Ode in Time of Hesitation" (1899).

Who Will Guard the Guardians?[1]

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FRONTIERS OF SOCIETY[2] is ambitious in title and bulk, but its text is full of qualifications, reservations, circumlocutions and terminological vagaries which will disappoint those who expected close scientific thinking.

The long descriptive part of the book deals with three cultures: the Comanche, the Alorese and "Plainville," U. S. A. The relation between this descriptive part and the interpretative part is tenuous. The author operates with "the concept of different basic personality types for different societies." Two decades ago the study of personality types was in vogue. It has not proved very fruitful unless the types were psychodynamically expressed, as were those of Freud. Adding a speculative word "basic" (not clearly defined) is no improvement. Instead of taking his psychoanalytic equipment along with him, the author wanders through the august halls of academic anthropology and sociology, clutching his concept of "basic personality types" like a rabbit's foot.

Dr. Kardiner makes the surprising statement that the "race concept" is "the oldest working hypothesis" for the study of the relations between culture and personality. Actually, of course, it is a late creation of the nineteenth century, developed under specific socio-economic circumstances. It is not clear what "the social process" is. As used in this book almost anything that happens seems to belong to it. Whatever it is, "to describe the operation of the social process by a technique which takes as its base line the mental and emotional equipment of the constituents of a society . . . the purpose of this book" is a fundamental mistake. This atomism cannot explain any social phenomenon and is a symptom of the evasion of social historical causes.

What is meant by the term "Western man," which the author uses so often, is also not clear. Is it Spenglerian? Does it include Richard Wright? Does it include Freud, who, according to a distinguished colleague (*Cf.* the *New Republic*, December 4, 1944), is "Oriental"? Does it include Shostakovich? We want to know a little more definitely, because some day someone may take these hazy Hootonisms at face value and advocate exterminating those who haven't got the right "basic personality."

The author gives a psychological explanation for the formation of cartels. "Modern man" has created them by virtue of his strong emotions. What a temper Dr. Hjalmar Schacht must have!

On the assumption that the "basic personality of Western man" has not changed much in 3,000 years, the author postulates that even after political freedom and economic security are established, "a tedious process of education" is necessary. Real social experiments made in Russia, however, have proved just the opposite on a large scale. The Khakass people in Siberia, for instance, have in fifteen years traveled the road from a nomadic clan system to a society based on industrialized collective agriculture with the most far-reaching changes in their mental life.

A book like this has of course great social significance. It indicates among other things how present-day anthropology, half aware of its own sterility, tries to introduce a lot of Freud in the attempt to keep out even a little bit of Marx.

Men Under Stress[1] is based on the authors' experiences with "several thousand cases" of combat soldiers of the Army Air Forces and returnees suffering from war neuroses, hospitalized for rehabilitation. The book, rather on the wordy side, gives descriptions of the psychological aspects of war flying and fliers. It contains 65 case histories, apparently intended more for the general reader than for psychiatrists who might wish to use them for comparative studies of diagnosis or psychodynamics. It is pragmatic in both the good and the bad sense, good in that it is based on concrete experiences, bad in that it is too eclectic and separates practice too much from its indispensable theoretical foundations.

A number of statements need to be questioned. For example, it seems to me erroneous to say that "loyalty is ex-

[1] This concludes Dr. Wertham's discussion of recent books on psychiatry which began in the *New Republic* of October 22.– THE EDITORS

[2] The Psychological Frontiers of Society, by Abram Kardiner, with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora du Bois and James West. New York: The Columbia University Press. 475 pages. $5.

[1] Men Under Stress, by Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel Philadelphia: Blakiston. 484 pages. $5.

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clusive of ethical, political or moral considerations." More serious, though, is the implication that in civilian life psychoses do not get permanently well, whereas psychoneuroses and psychosomatic disorders present "optimistic problems." Often just the opposite is true. It seems to me the value of "narcosynthesis" is doubtful. Injections for the purpose of inducing any kind of verbal response are an infringement upon the personality suggestive of the third degree. It is all too likely that should it be used in civilian life, patients who need psychotherapy but can't afford it will be soothed by what amounts to a shot in the arm, however high-sounding its name. All the recent discussions of brief psychotherapy imply far more fundamental problems than duration of treatment. They reflect changes in the whole neurotic pattern, based on social changes. The peacetime situation is far more complex than is the combat situation.

In the section on "general social implications," the author pleads for a "dynamic social psychology." But in discussing this he completely fails to see that society has its own dynamics with its own conflicts and contradictions, which must be scientifically formulated in its own terms and cannot be reduced to intra-psychic conflicts, although there is a dialectic relationship between them. The author regards labor unions as outlets for pent-up emotions, and says that whether a person joins a labor union or any other party, group or organization "is not of great significance." That is what Dr. Robert Ley thought, too.

Psychiatry, like any other science, is beset by two difficulties. The first, the danger of getting into the shallows of casuistic empiricism, is illustrated in *Men Under Stress*. The second, getting lost in the depths of a too mechanically applied theory, is illustrated by *War, Crime and the Covenant.*[1]

This book, like *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, deals with anthropological material. Its shortcomings are the shortcomings of method, *i.e.*, the too direct application of psychoanalytic interpretations and speculation to groups. The author gives a number of ingenious psychoanalytic interpretations, but when he deals with group problems he falls into fundamental errors.

Whereas Kardiner correctly decries the "age-old assumption that society can be treated as if it were an organism," that is exactly what Róheim does explicitly, basing it on Herbert Spencer. This leads him to statements like the following: "The fundamental structure of society seems to me an attempt to attain a manic phase by inducing a melancholia in others, only, however, to succumb to the same melancholia when the manic phase has been achieved." It makes no more sense to say that "the fundamental structure of society" is mania and melancholia than it would to say that it is hay fever. The whole analogy is false.

In line with an extreme metaphysical idealism, the author, whether discussing war, crime or other social phenomena, proclaims that "the basic factor is psychological." Thus he considers the development of the Oedipus complex to be independent of the development of social constellations and interprets the Orestes story individualistically, disregarding the fact that it marked the transition between two social orders.

Róheim goes far in the more or less logical but nevertheless unrealistic juggling with psychoanalytic speculations. When you write on war and crime and let yourself go as far as the "paternal nipple" or the "anal clitoris," it is a little difficult to find the road back to common sense.

What these books all have in common is a false optimism far removed from the actualities of the social scene. Are psychiatry and psychoanalysis becoming "the opium of the people"? If I had the task of combining these books into one popular volume, I think I'd call it *God Is My Psychiatrist.*

Vincent Sheean recently wrote that the flourishing of psychopathology in pre-Nazi Europe was a symptom of disease. I do not agree. I think it was a harbinger of political reaction. And that is what it is in this country. No greater evasion of collective responsibility has ever been devised than to explain any important social phenomenon by saying that it would not have happened if some individual had not

> In early infancy absorbèd
> A dreadful liking for the morbid.

Psychiatrists will have to decide whether they want to adjust people to a system of exploitation mitigated by social workers or whether they want to help them to become free personalities in a changing world.

Unpreparedness and bias in regard to social matters have led to a conflict in the minds of psychopathologists themselves. They suffer from the contradiction between a desire for social activity and their false conception of the society in which they function. What in the history of psychopathology was once a profoundly progressive step, namely Freud's stressing of the singular and the past, has for them become a shackle to the exclusion of the plural and the future. Yet it is not the individual but the social which is the distinctly human. If we do not realize that, we do not deserve to be called psychiatrists. We remain merely veterinaries of the mind. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*

FREDERIC WERTHAM

[1] War, Crime and the Covenant, by Géza Róheim, with an introduction by A. A. Brill. Monticello, New York: The Journal of Clinical Psychopathology. Monograph No. 1. 160 pages. $4.

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Seductive Tittle-Tattle

The Profane Virtues: Four Studies of the Eighteenth Century, by Peter Quennell. New York: The Viking Press. 220 pages. $3.

TO A READER who enjoys the seductive tittle-tattle of biography, the four essays which make up this volume will give two evenings of innocent pleasure. Mr. Quennell makes the lives of Boswell, Gibbon, Sterne and Wilkes seem somewhat more crowded than they were, day in and day out, with carousal, adventure (chiefly amorous), battles of wit and the taming of lions. Skimming the cream off Gibbon's *Autobiography* and Cross's *Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* (to mention two of his sources), he churns up a crock of rich golden butter.

I wish Mr. Quennell had let his book stand more frankly for what it is—a gallery of *Four Portraits*, as the English edition is entitled.[1] He has tried to unify his sketches by finding that to each of his subjects "some distinguishing features of the latter eighteenth century" can be attached. Thus Wilkes typifies "that passion for personal and political freedom" which Englishmen had inherited from the previous century; Gibbon evinces the "ironic detachment with which classicism mined away at classicist foundations"; Boswell "represents a new revolutionary mode in thinking and in literature"; Sterne teaches his age to discover "in unhappiness and helplessness a positive moral charm." But these special qualities Mr. Quennell emphasizes in the "Epilogue." They are not the dominant features of his portraits.

A further attempt at unification is sought by noting that the year 1763 had a special significance in the lives of all four of the subjects and in the political and cultural history of England. Mr. Quennell has a point here, but he does not make much of it, nor could he, I think. The trouble is that in spite of his careful instancing of chance meetings among these four men, their lives ran parallel most of the time. Mr. Quennell also felt some compulsion to talk about the literary art of Boswell, Gibbon and Sterne, but his attention is not fixed for long on this theme. Of the thirty-five pages ostensibly devoted to Gibbon "The Historian," for example, only six have anything to say about the gestation and delivery of the *Decline and Fall.*

The value of Mr. Quennell's book is not in any contribution it makes to history or criticism. He is chiefly interested in his subjects as they were known by their friends and their enemies. Unlike Strachey, he does not condescend as a portrait painter. He prefers his sitters to be very human in their lusts and in their vanities. The title chosen for the American edition of the book is not too apt. The "profane virtues," as Gibbon classified them, are sincerity and moderation. Certainly Boswell, Sterne and Wilkes were not noted for either. And even Gibbon sometimes could "just walk home" about four o'clock in the morning.

What Mr. Quennell admires about his subjects is their "vitality and their versatility, their devotion both to the pleasures of the world and to the satisfactions of the intellect." He likes to watch them move with gusto against the "sober, classical house-fronts" and in the "spaciously proportioned rooms" of their age. His style reveals his aim as an artist in biography. Though his pages are alive with activity, the pace is adroitly gaited. It appears as deliberate as an essay in the *Rambler*. In the sketch of Gibbon this modulated style becomes a *tour de force*. One seems to be reading the *Autobiography*, is doing so in part, but, by the writer's sleight-of-hand, it has been reduced to a fifth of its original size.

Since Mr. Quennell stays close to the words of his four subjects, or to the words of their friends and enemies, the tone is right. You feel that you can trust it, that it is not fiction but truth. He has an eye as well as an ear. He never misses a chance to make his page glow with the beauty of silver and furniture, lace and velvet. He uses effectively all he can glean from portraits, caricatures and frontispieces. Biographers can learn something by observing the skill with which he handles this device. Just as the contrived eighteenth-century manner of his prose suggests the rhythm of the age, so the circumstantiality of his descriptions makes the reader feel that he is watching Hogarth, lurking vindictively behind a column, sketch his savage caricature of Wilkes, "confident of victory" in his trial at the Court of Common Pleas. Since anyone who has a special fondness for the eighteenth century sometimes thinks it might have been good to live in that age whose virtues were less ambitious and deadly than the modern virtues, this sense of immediacy is delightful. The ability to create it is Mr. Quennell's greatest resource as a biographer.

WILLARD THORP

[1] We are informed, however, by the American publishers that the present title is the one preferred by the author.—THE EDITORS

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Two Meat Balls

The White Tower, by James Ramsey Ullman. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 479 pages. $3.
The Lonely Steeple, by Victor Wolfson. New York: Simon and Schuster. 260 pages. $2.50.

SO LONG as there are movies, people will write for them —which is neither here nor there, until scenarios begin to pass for novels. *The White Tower* needs only a marginal text in that strange language composed of expressions such as "montage . . . fade in . . . fade out . . . pan to segue close up and pan out" (whatever that means) to be all set for the shooting. I take this to be sufficient condemnation. The rest of this review is for those who see nothing wrong in the growing identity of literary and movie technique—who are content to derive their art, in whatever form, from the same process that turns out washing machines.

In a race against nausea it is best to be brief. The plot of *The White Tower* is, then, summarily as follows. Martin Ordway, American bomber pilot, is forced down in Switzerland at Kandermatt, the mountain resort he had visited some years before the war. He meets Carla again, now ripe in young womanhood, and ready, as you know at once, for the clinch. He gets up a mountain-climbing party consisting of himself, the girl, a Swiss guide, an English geologist, a French decadent and a Nazi. They set out to scale the White Tower, a mountain well nigh impossible to climb from the Kandermatt side. Everyone gets what is coming to him: Martin and Carla, love; the geologist, dignified failure; the guide, heroism; and the Frenchman and the Nazi a well deserved death. The mountain remains unvanquished; Ordway carefully avoids internment and leaves to finish out the war, to return in the not too distant or problematical future, to polish off his business with the mountain and the girl.

In plain words, the book is a phony. It is full of phony coincidence, phony characterization, pretentious speculations on French decadence, stereotyped "insights" into the German psyche, and page after page of esthetic push-pull meant to lend grace to the sexual act. The book, moreover, is an insult to Europe in so far as that clod of a Martin Clark Ordway Gable is made the mainspring of the symbolic action of mountain climbing—without the inspiration of his rugged mediocrity the good but weak Europeans would never have attained faith and salvation, and without the shining example of his dull virtue the evil knight of Nazism would have prevailed. The book would also have been an insult to America, were not America so quick to insult herself—*T. W. T.* is a Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

Compared with *The White Tower, The Lonely Steeple* is a mere two-reeler. Since it is a psychological novel, the flicker of false motion is not immediately apparent to the eye, and the fact that, like most of our dreams, it is made of celluloid, escapes you for a time. True, Mr. Wolfson, for the most part, does approach writing as writing. Many passages, such as the one describing the school of blackfish washed up on the beach to die, or the one describing the countryside as seen through the slits of a window in the steeple, could only have been written; the camera would have reduced their emotional and symbolic meaning to the inconsequence of spectacle. But one fact soon overtakes you in this story of poor paranoid Addie Eldredge (raped by her father, deserted by her husband), and that is that something is bound to *happen*. The book is written in the first person, from the point of view of a woman gone mad and incarcerated in an insane asylum, and so you are at once aware that the purpose of all the flashbacks and unravelings is finally to reveal the specific act of her madness. This creates an atmosphere of suspense at first: then suspense gives way to irritation and at last to boredom. The story is cluttered up with plants and forebodings, and before you know it, you are back in the movie theatre watching the building up of an obvious horror-climax.

I should admit, of course, that there is nothing sacred in the mere element of time-sequence, which can be manipulated freely in terms of the requirements of the theme. But it is precisely that which makes the structure of *The Lonely Steeple* appear to be a violation of the order of true time; the scenes are arranged only for the sake of placing the climax at the most advantageous spot, and it is the drama itself which is dramatized, not the theme of loneliness and desperation. The story, in short, and this is the greatest error that literature can fall into when it goes to school at the movies, is laid out in terms of maximum melodramtic effectiveness rather than of thematic revelation.

Mr. Wolfson's style has been determined by similar considerations. Addie Eldredge speaks a simple New England tongue, which is a fact of characterization and therefore justified, although a traditional rag of American regional style. But there is something rather disingenuous in the extensive use that the author makes of this language, especially when he wants to convey complicated interactions of emotion. The constant allusion to "the feeling inside of me" or the reliance upon phrases such as "I felt like the inside of me was sitting on the lap of the outside of me" may unify the tone of the book and keep the insight pitched to the character, but it serves also as a dodge to avoid naming the essences of things.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

A Reader's List

PLANNING NO. 239: Resettlement (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). This broadsheet, in which PEP continues its discussion of veterans' adjustment, invites comparison with our own GI Bill of Rights. As the editors indicate, the task of creating a sense of belonging for the returning serviceman is an imperative one. The ex-soldier is apt to view plans for his future with a skeptical eye, for the vision of the dole and the depression has not been entirely dissipated by the first flush of victory. In Britain the job is even more complicated than in America; the British Tommy is not going back to a land which enjoyed guns *and* butter. The editors carefully review the government's program to achieve a successful adaptation to civilian living. Pre-release education, dispersal centers, advisory and employment services, vocational training and resettlement grants are found to be barely satisfactory. The stress on education should be more insistent, says PEP, and there is an obvious lack of integra-

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tion. It would be tragic indeed, continue the editors, if frustration were allowed to breed new discontent.

Crime and Punishment

NINE STRINGS TO YOUR BOW, by Maurice Walsh (Lippincott, $2). Though three juries have refused to convict Peter Faulkner for the murder of his uncle, his name still remains to be cleared. That means the real murderer must be discovered—and after the lapse of a year. Peter's first bit of luck is getting private investigator Con Madden and his partner to undertake the job. The trio returns to the scene of the crime—Eglintoun, Scotland—where Con finds, not one, but nine prime suspects. How he narrows them down to the last out makes exciting—and literate—reading.

PORT OF SEVEN STRANGERS, by Kathleen Moore Knight (Crime Club, $2). This fast-moving story takes place at a resort hotel in Vera Cruz and pits several enemy aliens against a group of Americans on vacation. An attractive heroine, a dashing Air Force lieutenant hero, plus good atmosphere and suspense, make it a fairly diverting job.

THE WHISTLING LEGS, by Roman Macdougald (Simon and Schuster, $2). Darryl Rand, who controls the secret of the tremendously powerful new explosive, Magnamite, informs private detective Philip Cabot over the telephone that he, Rand, is about to be murdered. He says further that a note will be found which will prove his death to be suicide. Cabot's investigations reveal an incredibly complicated situation in the Rand household, but his natural good sense finally solves the mystery. Screwy as anything, but not bad fun. E. H.

Contributors

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Stanley C. Gartenhaus, formerly a reporter for the Washington *Post*, is now assistant managing editor for the Labor Relations Institute's twice-monthly publication for industry executives.

Bernard Meyer is a newspaperman who has been in the Australian army since 1942. He has written for various Australian newspapers on European and Far Eastern subjects and was engaged in monitoring work for the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Robert G. Spivack is a political reporter for the New York *Post* and writes frequently on New York politics for the *New Republic*.

Alexander H. Pekelis, a member of the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research, has been working on the problem of human rights as the Chief Consultant to the Commission on Law and Legislation, American Jewish Congress.

Frederic Wertham, psychiatrist and neurologist, is the author of *Dark Legend: A Study of Murder* and *The Brain as an Organ: A Texbook of Neuropathology*. He is working on a book about Marx and Freud.

Willard Thorp is an associate professor of English at Princeton University and chairman of the American Civilization Program there.

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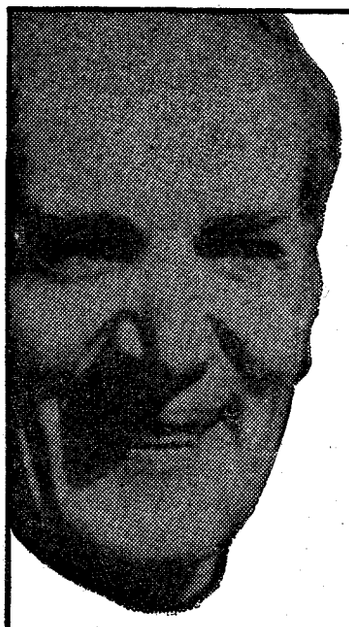

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